

Lord Curzon in India

BEING A SELECTION FROM HIS SPEECHES
AS VICEROY & GOVERNOR-GENERAL
OF INDIA

1898-1905

WITH A PORTRAIT, EXPLANATORY NOTES
AND AN INDEX

AND

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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LEGAL MEMBER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COUNCIL, 1899-1904.

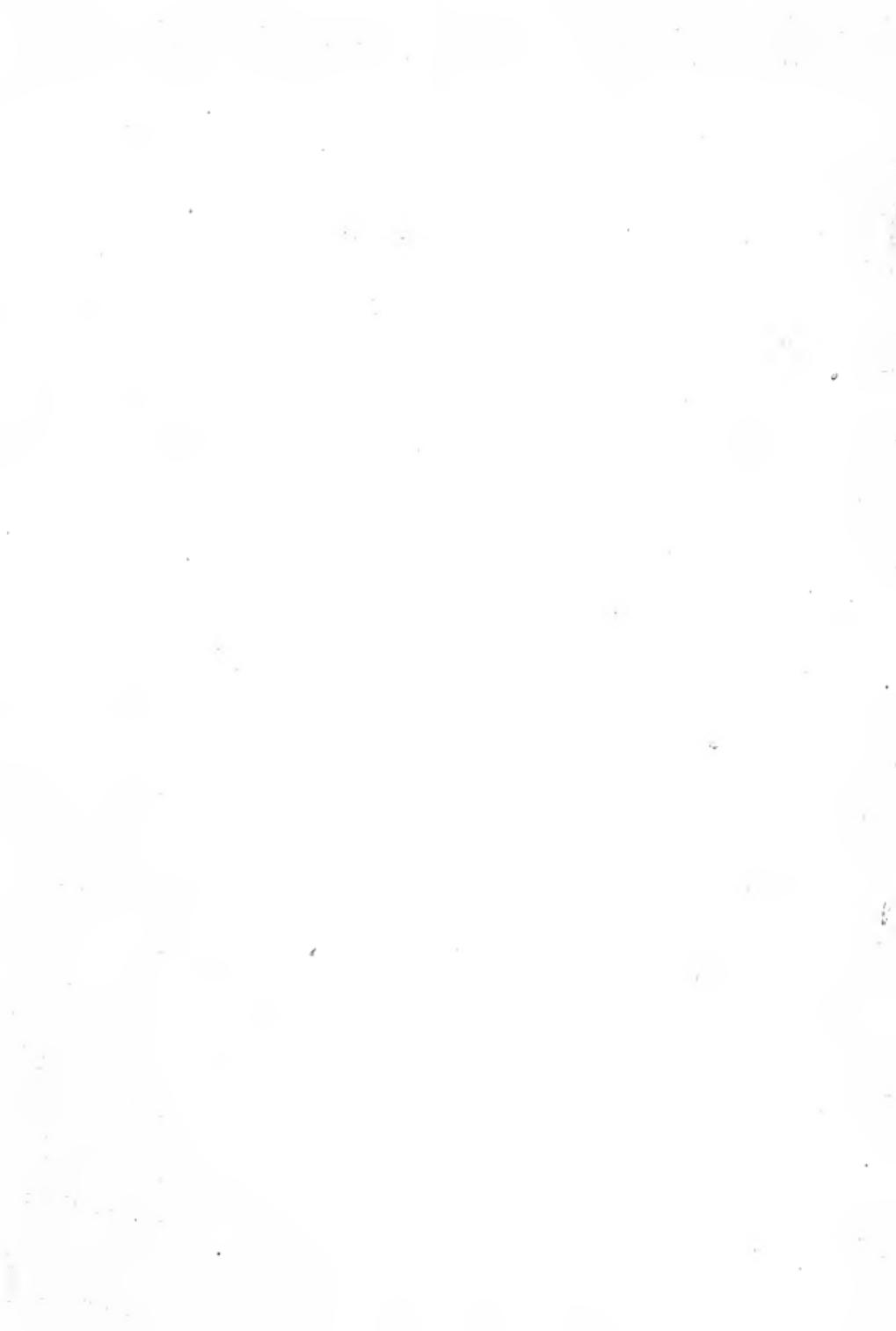
'We are ordained to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people.'

Speech at Calcutta, Feb. 15, 1902.

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P R E F A C E

THIS volume contains a selection from the speeches on India and Indian subjects that were delivered by Lord Curzon from the time that he was first appointed to be Viceroy and Governor-General in August 1898, until his return to England from his second term of office in December 1905. The number of speeches actually made by him during this period amounted to over two hundred and fifty, for in India the Viceroy is, by long custom, almost the solitary speechmaker of the Administration ; and it is clear, therefore, that a selection of less than sixty of these must leave large groups of subjects untouched.

In choosing, an attempt has been made to subserve the general object of this book, which is to provide a key to the problems of modern Indian government, as well as a synopsis of Lord Curzon's administration ; and accordingly speeches or parts of speeches relating to subjects of local or ephemeral interest have been omitted, and attention has been invited in preference to those utterances that explain the principles by which the Government of India is actuated in approaching its stupendous task, and the concrete manner in which, in Lord Curzon's time, it endeavoured to carry them into execution. He himself lost no opportunity of taking the community into his confidence, both as to the objects and the details of his policy, holding that there is nothing from which the Government of India suffers so much both in India and in England as public ignorance, and that even the government of a dependency is best conducted

by a free and frank interchange of opinions with the governed. While this method to a certain extent challenged popular criticism, it left the Indian public better informed than they had ever previously been as to the aims and acts of their rulers, and ended by furnishing what may be described as a handbook to the recent history and government of India more complete and authoritative than can be found in any contemporary publication. From this point of view the present work may possess a value independent of any personal interest attaching to it, since, if a reader desires to know what, for instance, is the policy of the British Government in India with regard to frontiers or foreign or military affairs, in respect of education, famine, taxation, currency, irrigation, or the Native States, he can ascertain it from these pages. Simultaneously, Lord Curzon, both in India and England, was perpetually reiterating the fundamental principles of British rule in India, and some of his speeches on this point have already been introduced into the curriculum of English schools ; while many of the projects with which he was particularly identified will here be found explained in his own words.

It should be remembered that a Viceroy of India speaks under conditions very different from those which prevail in England. He cannot ascend a platform whenever he pleases to give a vindication of his policy. Public banquets are few and far between, and the majority of his speeches, unless they refer to particular Bills in the Legislative Council, are made in reply to deputations or addresses, or upon formal and ceremonial occasions. The only opportunity presented to him in the year of expounding the general policy of his Government is in the annual Budget debate in the Legislative Council at Calcutta ; and Lord Curzon's seven speeches on those occasions, which are reproduced in this collection, are in reality the most serviceable guide to his administration. Furthermore, the character and tone of a Viceroy's speeches

are necessarily affected by the fact that he often appears as the representative of the Sovereign quite as much as the head of the Government, and is consequently subject to easily recognised limitations.

The method adopted in printing the speeches has been determined by the description already given of the general character of this work. They are arranged under various headings, in chronological order, and passages relating more particularly to those headings have been transferred from speeches dealing with a multiplicity of topics where they might otherwise have been overlaid. For the many subjects that do not find a separate heading, reference must be made to the Index, which has been compiled with intentional fulness.

In order to supply a general view of the system of government that will be seen at work in this book, as well as a connected account of the administrative task undertaken by Lord Curzon and his colleagues during the past seven years, an introductory chapter has been written by Sir Thomas Raleigh, who was Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council from 1899 to 1904.

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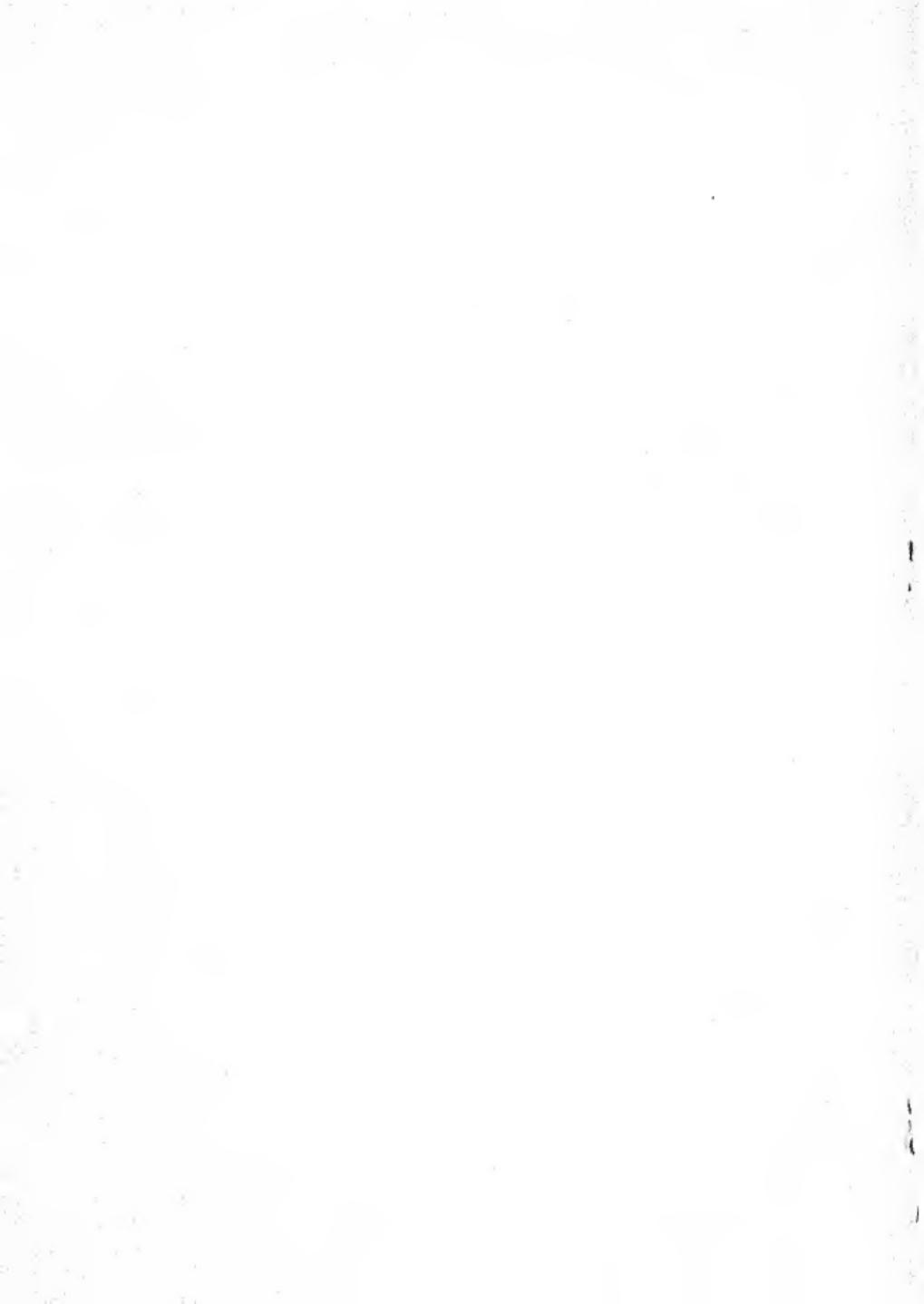
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INTRODUCTION

APPOINTMENT

IN August 1898 Mr. George Curzon, then Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was appointed to succeed Lord Elgin as Viceroy and Governor-General of India; in November the Viceroy-designate was gazetted Lord Curzon of Kedleston, in the peerage of Ireland. In December he left for India; he took over charge from Lord Elgin at Calcutta on the 6th January 1899.

The horizon of the incoming Viceroy was not free from clouds. On the north-west frontier the Tirah campaign was still fresh in the memory of the tribes; large garrisons of British troops were still cantoned in posts beyond our own frontier, at Chitral, at Lundi Kotal, and in Waziristan; and no decision had been arrived at for the settlement of the frontier tracts. In British India a considerable part of the population was slowly recovering from the effects of the famine of 1897; and the crop reports indicated that the resources of Government might soon be taxed to meet the danger of recurring scarcity. Plague, an old enemy, had appeared again in Bombay in 1896, and the weekly return of deaths from that cause had already become a subject of grave alarm.

Indian problems were not presented to Lord Curzon's mind for the first time when he landed at Bombay. Since his election to Parliament in 1886, he had served as Under-Secretary for India in 1891-92, and had made a prolonged and careful study of our policy in the East. In three books, *Russia in Central Asia* (1889), *Persia and the Persian Question* (1892), and *Problems of the Far East* (1894), the results of prolonged inquiry on the spot were

communicated to the public at home. He had visited India four times; and he may fairly claim to have known the capacities of his ship when he took his station on the bridge.

It is not unimportant to remark that, though previous Governors-General had served and held office as members of the House of Commons, Lord Curzon was the first who may be said to have won his way to that position by service in the popular Chamber. He took with him to India the habits of an assembly in which the man who desires to have influence must earn it by proving his practical knowledge of affairs. Throughout his administration, his attitude was often that of the parliamentary minister, who explains his measures, invites the approval and assistance of the people, and defends his policy vigorously when it is attacked. At the same time, Lord Curzon made no concession to the views of those who think that popular government, in the European sense of the term, can be introduced into India under existing conditions. He knew that for a long time to come the Government of India must remain in the hands of officials, appointed and controlled by the home authorities; but he was determined that the officials should be competent, vigilant, and, above all, sympathetic with the Native population.

Before proceeding to take up the questions argued and expounded in these Speeches, it may be well to say a few words of the constitution which the Viceroy of India is required to administer, and of the limitations under which his work is done. From the English point of view, the Viceroy stands for the administration. He is often the only Indian official whose name is familiar to the public at home; it is generally known that he can, in a case of emergency, outvote his Council, although in the last thirty years there is only one recorded case of this having been done. He is credited with all the successes and blamed for all the failures of his Government. His own opinion often carries decisive weight, but in framing his measures he must cultivate the art of compromise. The mastery of a good Viceroy consists not merely in carrying his own proposals, but in the skill with which he can harmonise conflicting opinions and

bring matters to a practical issue. Lord Curzon has referred more than once to the harmonious working of the Council in his time, and in this case it is right to give the Viceroy the chief share of the credit. The popular notion that a strong Viceroy reduces his Council to a nullity is not borne out by my experience as one of Lord Curzon's advisers.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

In the daily business of administration the Governor-General is assisted by his Executive Council. At the time of Lord Curzon's arrival, six of the seven Departments of Government were assigned to the five Ordinary Members of Council, appointed by Her Majesty on the advice of the Secretary of State. Before he left India, Lord Curzon had obtained the consent of the Secretary of State to the appointment of a sixth Ordinary Member; the new Department of Commerce and Industry was then created, and a better distribution of the work was thus rendered possible. The Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Lockhart, was an Extraordinary Member of Council, appointed by the Secretary of State.

At meetings for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, the Council is reinforced by the presence of additional members, not less than ten nor more than sixteen in number: at least half of these must be persons not in the civil or military service of the Crown. At a full meeting the members present include—(1) a few gentlemen qualified by rank or personal distinction, and nominated by the Viceroy to represent particular communities and interests; (2) officials, recommended by Heads of Provinces; (3) a contingent of gentlemen, usually natives of India, selected by the non-official members of Provincial Councils; (4) one member recommended by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. The Legislative Council thus composed can hardly be described as a "fierce democracy," but, as some of these Speeches will show, it is large enough, and representative enough, to secure an independent expression of opinion on Bills which excite interest out of doors. The Native members in particular do not hesitate to criticise the

Government with the utmost freedom. Strangers are admitted, and the proceedings are fully reported in the press. Hon. members are seated at a long table, and the member who is speaking does not rise from his place; when the member in charge of a Bill has stated his case, the President calls on those who wish to speak in their order, beginning with the junior member. These arrangements may sometimes limit the scope of debate, but they conduce to decorum; each is heard in his turn; the member of Government responsible for the measure under discussion is entitled to reply, and on important occasions the Viceroy sums up the debate.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

If India, as we define it, were divided into five equal parts, three of these parts would be included in British India—the territories governed by His Majesty through the Governor-General and the officers subordinate to him. This vast area is now divided into twelve Provinces: the heads of local administration are, the Governors of Madras and Bombay; the Lieutenant-Governors, whose number has been increased to five by the partition of Bengal; and five Chief Commissioners. The efficiency of our system depends to a great extent on the maintenance of good relations between central and local authorities. It is for the Government of India to lay down the lines of general policy; but, within its own limits, each Local Government claims and enjoys a considerable measure of independence.

Independence does not exclude, or ought not to exclude, conference and co-operation. Lord Curzon found the provinces living, as he said, in water-tight compartments; each working out its own system, and paying too little attention to the methods of its neighbours. It was part of the Viceroy's policy to encourage comparison of results and exchange of ideas as between one province and another.

For the Government of India there remained the task of co-ordinating the information thus obtained, and of indicating the lines of general policy. To do this with good effect it was desirable, and indeed necessary, to provide the Government of India with expert assistance. In point of

general capacity, the members of the Indian Civil Service can hold their own with any service in the world. But they are sent to India at an early age ; they seldom have the opportunity to make themselves specialists ; they do not possess the detailed acquaintance with scientific and administrative methods which is gained by service in a highly organised office at home. Lord Curzon therefore indented on Whitehall for specially trained officers, whose duties were to be, in the main, of an advisory nature. The Chief Inspector of Mines was to show us where our Indian practice was defective, and how it might be brought up to the English standard. The Director-General of Education was not to supersede the heads of the Education Service ; his duty was to inquire and to suggest, to show us how methods might be better co-ordinated and results more accurately compared. Railways, which had previously been controlled by a Department of Government, were placed under a Board of three experts, one of whom was brought from England. Other branches of administration were treated in a similar way ; and there can be no doubt that the changes carried out by Lord Curzon represent a very solid addition to the benefits which our rule has conferred on the people of India. Agriculture, commerce and industry, criminal intelligence, public health, architecture, and archaeological inquiry have profited, and will continue to profit, by the changes which he introduced into the mechanism of Government. Changes of this kind are not introduced by a stroke of the pen ; they involve much expenditure of personal energy, and anxious consideration of ways and means.

THE CONGRESS

I need not say that the Indian National Congress, though at first inclined to welcome Lord Curzon as a reforming Viceroy, ended by taking an unfavourable view of his activity in India ; and the English reader may be surprised to find that there is no reference to that body in the Speeches now published. Of the Congress I wish to speak with due respect ; it is strong in talent and in good

intentions, and it expresses faithfully the opinions of that section of the Hindu community which sees in the concession of political rights the main object of Indian ambition and English duty. When the Indian student has read his English history, and has learnt something of other parts of the British Empire, he asks, quite naturally, whether the principle of self-government may not with advantage be applied to his own country. The practical administrator is conscious of certain difficulties. English history is indeed an object-lesson in self-government, as understood by a homogeneous nation. If you take the average Englishman—peer, professional man, or artisan—you are safe in assuming that he accepts certain general beliefs as to the mode in which his country should be governed. India, on the other hand, is the least homogeneous country in the world. If the English reader wishes to understand the Speeches in this volume, he must endeavour to realise the variety and complexity of the social system over which the Viceroy of India presides. The eloquent Bengali or Mahratta, who finds his appropriate sphere of action in the Congress, is entitled to a fair hearing, but he is only one of many types of Indian character and sentiment. The English official, as he goes his daily round, is brought into contact with men of a very different stamp—Mohammedan gentlemen, trained perhaps at Aligarh under the influence of Sir Syed Ahmed; Chiefs of ancient lineage, who cling to the traditions embodied in that wonderful book, the *Annals of Rajasthan*; Hindu administrators who have made the fortune of the more prosperous Native States; and large numbers of educated native gentlemen who take no part in agitation, though they are keenly interested in social and industrial reform. These men are not merely factors, they are governing factors in the politics of India; and there are many of them who regard the Congress with feelings which vary from amused indifference to active disapproval.

There are, as it seems to me, several reasons why the Viceroy of India should decline, under present circumstances, to enter into direct communication with the Congress. In the first place, that body is engaged in a premature and unwise attempt to domesticate English political ideas in

India. In the second place, the pretensions of the Congress are out of all proportion to its true significance. It claims to represent three hundred millions of people, 99 per cent of whom have never heard of its existence. There is also a third consideration, which perhaps was not present to the mind of Sir Henry Cotton when, as President of the Congress, he proposed to lay the Resolutions of that body officially before the Viceroy. Rightly or wrongly, the Congress has chosen to identify itself with one political party in England. It is with us a cardinal rule of statesmanship that Indian questions ought not to be treated as party questions in the House of Commons. No Viceroy, whatever his personal politics may be, can depart from that established convention without setting a precedent which might seriously embarrass his successors.

The Congress is doing good service in so far as it helps us to concentrate attention on certain facts which ought never to be absent from our minds. There are in India millions of men—patient, industrious, law-abiding—who cannot count on obtaining an adequate subsistence from the soil. Our first care must be, to give them a larger measure of comfort, to increase their power of self-help and self-protection. When we turn to the educated classes of this vast native population, we find that the instruction we provide for them has stimulated ambition, and in some cases has awakened a feeling of discontent, while at the same time our system of administration affords only a restricted scope for the employment of natives in the higher ranks of our services. These are the facts of the situation; and no Viceroy has faced them more sympathetically or more candidly than Lord Curzon.

BUDGET SPEECHES

Under the Indian Councils Act of 1892, the annual financial statement is explained in the Legislative Council: each member is at liberty to offer any observations he may wish to make, but no member is allowed, in a Budget debate, to propose a resolution or to divide the Council. The Finance Member has the right of reply, and the discussion

is closed by the President. In practice, this debate ranges over the whole field of administration ; the critics of Government put forward their demands for reduced taxation and increased expenditure ; while the Viceroy has an opportunity to take stock of the measures for which he is responsible, and to indicate his plans for the future.

The Budget speeches included in this volume will show how carefully Lord Curzon counted the cost of the reforms which he advocated. His financial position was, on the whole, a fortunate one : when he went to India the period of recurring deficits and unstable exchange was just coming to an end. In March 1899, Sir James Westland was able to budget for a substantial surplus, and the accounts of the five following years show surpluses averaging about 3 millions sterling. The revenue rose from $68\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling in 1899, to 83 millions in 1904. The debt increased during the same period by 16 millions, but against this must be set a capital expenditure of more than 20 millions on remunerative undertakings.

It would not have been prudent to begin by reducing taxation. Famine was impending ; the equipment of the Army was defective ; and the civil administration, hampered so long by want of funds, must be restored to efficiency. In 1900 Mr. (afterwards Sir Clinton) Dawkins had to meet a large famine expenditure ; but, with the support of the Viceroy, he had signalled his year of office by passing the important measures which introduced a gold standard into India, and practically fixed the value of the rupee. Sir Edward Law completed the work of currency reform by setting aside the profits of coinage to form the gold reserve fund, which now affords a permanent guarantee for stability of exchange. To carry out a scheme of this nature in India, it is necessary not only to adhere to sound principles, but to command the confidence of the business community. And here the Viceroy's aid was invaluable, for he looked at finance from the statesman's point of view, and he stated the case for Government in language which every business man understood.

In 1902 the Government was able to relieve those districts which were still suffering the effects of famine, by

writing off land revenue to the amount of £1,320,000: a searching inquiry, conducted in the previous year, had provided an authoritative exposition of the rules under which this branch of revenue is collected, and had indicated the expediency of lenient methods of assessment and elasticity in collection. The results of that inquiry are recorded in a Resolution which bears traces of Lord Curzon's handiwork. I observe with regret that this important state paper appears to be unknown to some of those sincere but not always well-informed English politicians who interest themselves in the welfare of the people of India.

It was not until 1903, the year of the Coronation Durbar, that Lord Curzon was able to announce a reduction of taxes. The salt tax was then reduced by eight annas per *maund*, and the limit of exemption from income tax was raised. Salt tax remains one of the permanent props of our Indian finance, but the low duty (which was further reduced in 1905) is welcomed by all who know what cheap salt means to the poor. The effect of this twofold reduction was a sacrifice of revenue to the amount of £2,500,000 per annum. The critics of Government relied, by way of set-off, on the expenses of the Durbar, which amounted to about £200,000, or one-sixth of a penny per head of the population. The incidence of taxation is a subject which the Government of India is constantly studying: we still have many problems to solve, but there is no foundation for the statement, so freely made on English platforms, that the people are being crushed to the earth by oppressive increase of their burdens, or by wanton additions to the expense of Government. The incidence of taxation in India, as Lord Curzon has more than once explained, is among the lightest in the world.

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

Taxation is not the only burden which the peasant has to carry: from time immemorial he has been always, or nearly always, in debt. If he has a bad year, or if he wants a small sum for a marriage or a funeral, he goes, as his fathers went, to the money-lender, who speaks him fair, and

produces the rupees. His relations with his own *buniya* are often ancestral, and not unfriendly, but there can be no doubt that the position of the debtor has been altered for the worse by the introduction of our property law. The peasant only asks to live by his land: he may be no more than a kind of tenant-at-will, working for his creditor; but he is not aware of the fact until the *buniya* goes to the judge and gets a decree which makes him owner of the land. Indebtedness is part of the course of nature, but to lose the land is to lose everything.

In the Punjab an inquiry, conducted by Mr. Thorburn, had shown that the land in certain districts was passing away from the hereditary holders, and into the hands of their creditors. Was it expedient, and was it possible, to provide a remedy? To this question the officials and others who were consulted returned various and conflicting replies, but the prevailing opinion was in favour of legislation. A short and tentative Bill was drawn, and in the summer of 1900 an exceptionally strong committee devoted several weeks of labour to the completion of the scheme. The Punjab Land Alienation Act proceeds on the assumption that the hereditary cultivator must be assisted to keep his land, and this has been effected by restricting his freedom of alienation, by prescribing forms of mortgage suited to local conditions, and by investing the Deputy Commissioner in each district with powers of revision and control. The supporters of the Act did not deny that it was an experimental measure. If I may judge from the annual reports of its working, the experiment has been a success. The Viceroy's speech on the passing of the Act contains his answer to those who deprecated all interference with rights of property.

If the peasant is to free himself from the load of debt, it is not enough to strengthen his hold on the land. He must learn to save, and to co-operate with his neighbours in the use and management of money. The problem here encountered was one of extreme difficulty; but many minds were at work upon it. Able civilians, who had studied Raiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch, had advocated the introduction of "agricultural banks" into India; some had even

started co-operative schemes on their own responsibility. Founding themselves on the report of a departmental committee, the Government of India resolved to attempt a general scheme, and their proposals were ultimately passed into law in March 1904. In closing the debate on the passing of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act, Lord Curzon was able to congratulate the Council on having reached the final stage of a measure which had been received with unanimous approval, and which, if successfully pursued, will be of lasting advantage to the cultivating classes.

ARCHÆOLOGY

In the course of his official tours, Lord Curzon startled the apathy of certain local authorities by telling them that the conservation of ancient monuments was one of the primary obligations of Government; long before he left India, he had secured their enthusiastic support. This obligation had been acknowledged, in general terms, but, with rare exceptions, it had not been adequately performed. The Viceroy's address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1900 contained the promise of a new period of effort; and the speech delivered on the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act in 1904 will give some idea of what Lord Curzon was able to accomplish in his time. His own share in the work was by no means limited to the delivery of addresses, or to the issue of general orders. I never visited an ancient building in India without finding that the Viceroy had been there before me, measuring, verifying, planning out the details of repair and reconstruction, labouring to inspire his local subordinates with his own passionate reverence for the historic past.

In reporting to Council on the restoration of the Moghul palaces and tombs, Lord Curzon mentioned with satisfaction that the skilled workmen of Agra had lent themselves to the enterprise "with as much zeal and taste as their fore-runners 300 years ago." He was not content to revive the memory of the past; he desired also to impress his Indian friends with the conviction that their country still possessed, in the craftsmen of her villages and towns, a body of men

who would rival the best work of their ancestors, if they received the necessary stimulus and encouragement. When the Coronation Durbar was being planned, no part of the scheme owed more to the Viceroy's care and thought than the Art Exhibition. He spared no pains to make it a genuine product of native skill and taste; and under his direction every corner of India was ransacked for the best examples of metal-work, textile fabrics, and wood-carving.

To a Viceroy of this way of thinking, the modern public buildings of India can present but few attractions; but Lord Curzon was as deeply interested in their style and construction as in the conservation of ancient monuments. A French writer, shocked by our jerry-built offices and Courts, has declared that when the British Empire disappears, it will leave no monument, except some heaps of empty tins. Lord Curzon did what he could to remove this reproach. He persuaded the Secretary of State to give him an architectural adviser; and the public buildings erected at Calcutta and Simla in his time bear testimony to this revival of interest. Before many years have passed, Calcutta will also contain the most splendid and enduring monument of these aspirations, the Victoria Memorial Hall, a structure of white marble, now being erected on the Maidan, to commemorate the first Queen-Empress of India, and to serve as a Gallery of Indian history and art. The foundation stone was laid by the Prince of Wales in January 1906. The speeches in which Lord Curzon explained the purpose and design of the building are included in this volume.

CHIEFS AND PRINCES

As I have stated above, three-fifths of India are directly administered by His Majesty, acting through the Governor-General and his subordinates. The remaining two-fifths are included in the Native States. The territories of a Native State are not British territory; the inhabitants are not British subjects. Legislative authority is exercised by the ruling Chief in his own Durbar or Council; the courts of the State are in no way subject to our High Courts, nor

does an appeal lie from them to His Majesty in Council. The expression "Chiefs and Princes" includes some hundreds of more or less independent rulers, who vary in importance from the Nizam of Hyderabad to the Rana of a small State in the hill country or an independent landholder in Kathiawar. The external relations of these States, and their relations with one another, are controlled by the Government of India. The leading Princes of India represent the historic families, Hindu and Mohammedan—rivals or allies of the Company in the period which ended with the suppression of the Mutiny, and the deposition of the Moghul King of Delhi. They accept the authority of the Paramount Power; but they retain a strong sense of their historic position. Lord Curzon struck the right note when he claimed the ruling Chiefs as his "colleagues and partners in the task of administration." That is exactly what the best of them wish to be, and are. Only those who have studied the affairs of a well-governed Native State can realise how much a capable and honest ruler may do to promote the welfare of the millions who look to him as their hereditary guardian.

If the opportunities of a young Chief are great, so also are his temptations. Surrounded from his infancy by dependants, he may give way to habits of self-indulgence and self-will. There are two influences which help to keep him steadfast in his work. One is, the sentiment which prevails among his brother Chiefs, and the standard of duty which the good Chiefs have set before themselves. When Lord Curzon invested a young Maharaja or Nawab with the symbols of authority, he always took occasion to remind him that his powers and his revenues were conferred upon him in trust for his people. In language which appealed to the traditional sentiment of the great houses, he pointed out that the life of one who aspires to rule his fellow-men must be a life of strenuous labour, dignified self-restraint, "dispassionate zeal."

There is also the influence of education, and in this field Lord Curzon found ample scope for his energies. In discussing the position and the possible future of the Chiefs' Colleges, and in creating and watching over the Imperial Cadet

Corps, he was doing his utmost to train up a succession of young men whom the Viceroys of a later time will gladly recognise as "colleagues and partners" worthy of their trust. The Chiefs' Colleges are not very old ; but they have existed long enough to discover that their progress must, for a time, be slow. India is a country where distinctions of rank are carefully marked, and rigidly observed. It is not to be expected that every ruling Prince will perceive the advantage of placing his sons in a College or a Corps where they are subjected to impartial discipline, and brought into competition with lads of less exalted families. Our own schemes of education have perhaps been too literary ; we have not always remembered that the object of a Chiefs' College is "not preparation for examinations, but preparation for life." These difficulties exist, but Lord Curzon has done his best to prove that they exist to be overcome ; and the marked advance recorded in his farewell speech to the Chiefs at Indore is the best augury for the future.

THE CORONATION DURBAR

It would be a mistake to suppose that the Sovereignty of the Crown was introduced into India by the Government of India Act of 1858. The East India Company, which "began in commerce and ended in empire," was created by a royal charter ; its power to make peace and war, and to negotiate with the Princes of India, was derived from the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain ; the Directors and the officials whom they appointed were, as Lord Hardwicke explained to them, only delegates and trustees. But the transfer of direct administration, the terms of Her Majesty's Proclamation, and the assumption of a new title in 1876, had established a more direct and a more personal tie between Sovereign and People. It was, therefore, only right that the accession of the first Emperor of India should be duly and worthily celebrated. By command of His Majesty, Lord Curzon made arrangements for a Durbar to be held at Delhi, and there was general rejoicing when it was known that the Duke and Duchess of Connaught would be present.

To provide for the reception and entertainment of many thousand guests—including more than a hundred rulers of Native States—was a task of no ordinary magnitude. Lord Curzon was supported by a band of very able assistants, each of whom had his own share in the success that was achieved. I was myself only one of the guests, borne along upon the current of each day's proceedings; but in going through the camps I came to the conclusion that the harmony and good order which prevailed were largely due to the fact that every detail of importance had been foreseen and provided for by one controlling mind.

The Durbar was a pageant, such as none of us who were present can hope to see again; but it was much more than a pageant. The vast amphitheatre, roofed only by the clear winter sky; the quiet advent of Princes and Governors, each bearing his allotted part in the display, each bringing his tribute of respect and loyalty—these were to us the visible signs of the peace and unity which England has bestowed on India. The cordial sincerity of the King's message, the sober and well-chosen words of the Viceroy, expressed the thoughts that were in every mind.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

In England the Government, in relation to trade and industry, is mainly a regulative agency; the Legislature intervenes only to protect the health and safety of the persons employed. In India, where capital is less abundant and the forces of industry more widely scattered, the Government is expected to take a direct interest in useful undertakings; and Lord Curzon threw himself into this part of his work with active sympathy. He found time to visit the coal-fields of Bengal, the gold-mines of Kolar, the oil-wells of Burma, the tea-gardens of Assam. On two occasions his Government had to undertake the difficult but unavoidable duty of amending and strengthening the regulations introduced for the protection of labour.

Even before 1899 the mining industry in Bengal had secured a strong position in Eastern markets. The coal was of good quality, and easily won; the labour force was

recruited among the Sonthals, and other more or less primitive peoples. There was no reason to suspect that the employers, as a class, were indifferent to the welfare of their labourers ; but it was known that in some cases ventilation and sanitation had been entirely neglected. Preventable accidents had occurred, and in certain mines the conditions of underground life were in every way unsatisfactory. The case for a regulating Act was strong ; but when a Bill was introduced, it was received with a good deal of grumbling. As might have been anticipated, the Viceroy was accused of hampering industry by needless rules, and of punishing the good employer for the sins of his less careful neighbours. Lord Curzon was anxious to secure the assistance of the mine-owners in framing his regulations ; the Bill was postponed for a year, and the interval was so well employed that the Mines Act of 1900 was passed with the consent and approval of those whose interests were affected. In the Calcutta session of the following year the chief place in the programme of legislation was given to the Assam Labour Bill ; abuses which had grown up in connection with the labour traffic were corrected, and the position of the coolie was distinctly improved. In India, as in some other parts of the world, it is found impossible to start new industries unless with the aid of labourers who are unable to protect themselves by contract. The legislation which makes this possible is the affair of Government, and Government is not justified in giving the necessary powers unless it is made certain that the coolie will not be ill-treated or deprived of his share in the reward of industry. It may be that before long the Government and the tea-planters will be able to dispense with special legislation, and to rely on the ordinary action of demand and supply, supplemented by those provisions of the existing law which experience has shown to be necessary.

Of the speeches on commercial subjects delivered by Lord Curzon two only are now reprinted. He frequently had occasion to dwell on the importance of a sound currency policy and stability of exchange as the basis of economic progress ; on the necessity for the employment of capital on a large scale—if possible, British and Indian capital in com-

bination ; on the community of interest between Government and those engaged in developing the resources of the country ; on the fallacy of the familiar doctrine that there is a constant "drain of wealth" from India ; on the policy of encouraging native industries ; on the financial soundness of an extended railway programme and reduced telegraph rates. I have already mentioned the establishment of a new Department of Commerce and Industry. When Lord Curzon left India the Chambers of Commerce gave emphatic expression to the appreciation and the regret of the business world.

EDUCATION

Since the establishment of British rule in India our Government has always made some provision for education : the outlines of our present system are traced in the famous despatch of 1854, and in the recommendations of the Commission which reported in 1882. When Lord Curzon began a searching inquiry into the subject, he was not satisfied with the rate of progress maintained. In some quarters the enthusiasm of 1854 had given place to the spirit of routine, and there was a tendency to assume that English education, as imparted to natives of India, must always be superficial and second-rate.

After a careful preliminary survey Lord Curzon invited the chief officers of the education service to meet him in conference at Simla in the autumn of 1901. In his opening speech he indicated clearly the duty incumbent on Government, and the ideal which he proposed to set before the educated classes of India. The deliberations of the Conference were held in private ; those who were present will bear me out in saying that the Viceroy spared no pains to elicit a full expression of all opinions, whether they agreed with his own or not. The general sense of the meeting was embodied in a series of Resolutions, and Government was thus provided with a programme of educational reform.

For the changes introduced in pursuance of the advice thus obtained, after reference to local Governments and prolonged public discussion, I must content myself with a

reference to the Resolution recorded and published by the Government of India in March 1904, and to the speech delivered by Lord Curzon at Simla in September 1905. So far as elementary education was concerned, the chief difficulty was to find ways and means. Education had commonly been regarded as a matter of provincial concern, and the local Governments, always labouring to make both ends meet, were not able to face a large expenditure. But the general revenue was steadily improving ; the liberality of the Government of India kept pace with the needs of the time ; finally, in 1905, an annual grant of thirty-five lakhs for primary education was accepted as a permanent charge. Training colleges, industrial schools, and female education have all benefited in like manner by what one may call the Simla policy—a policy which may be said, without over-confidence, to have opened a new era of successful effort.

On turning to higher education a more thorny problem is disclosed. India possesses five universities, all of them founded on the model of London University as it was in 1854. By setting the standards of examination these bodies control the instruction given in 191 colleges, numbering altogether about 23,000 students. It was originally intended that the colleges should be placed under inspection, but this part of the scheme was overlooked, and no attempt was made to lay down in general terms what a college ought to be. There were, therefore, good colleges working under many difficulties, but animated by a true academic spirit ; there were others which could only be described as secondary schools or cramming establishments of an unsatisfactory kind. The weaker colleges had a direct interest in lowering the university standards ; they were encouraged in this aspiration by the governing bodies of the universities themselves. When the three senior universities were founded in 1857 the Senates then appointed were small bodies, mainly academic in character ; their leading members were men engaged for the most part in teaching, and competent to advise the Government on questions relating to the higher education. The Senates of 1900 were large bodies, mainly composed of gentlemen who made it their object to attract the largest possible number of

students, and to turn out the largest possible number of graduates. Even in Bombay, where the colleges were fewer, and consequently better, than in Bengal, the university was controlled by a large body of professional men whose aims were not academic. No university made any proper provision for advanced study. No university had a library, or a laboratory, in which research work could be done.

These defects were fully considered at the Simla Conference, but it was felt that college teachers had a right to be consulted; a Commission appointed for this purpose reported in 1902. The Report, which embodied a scheme for the reconstitution of the Senates, was received with a storm of protest, especially in Bengal. It was freely asserted that the Viceroy was resolved to "officialise" the universities, and to insist on an impossible standard of efficiency, so that the weaker colleges might be forced out of existence.

If these had been the Viceroy's objects he might have fallen back on the despatch of 1854; he might simply have taken statutory power to appoint inspectors and to frame regulations. Lord Curzon had in fact determined to rely on university action. His plan was to provide all the universities with new Senates, mainly composed of teachers, and to leave each university to frame its own regulations and inspect its own colleges. These were the most important provisions of the Bill introduced at Simla in the summer of 1903, discussed and passed into law at Calcutta in the spring of 1904. To secure an adequate discussion of this Bill four university teachers were appointed to the Legislative Council.

The Universities Act has now been in operation for some time, and, so far as I can learn, none of the apprehended evils have followed in its train. The Senates have not been "officialised," nor have they shown themselves oppressive or inconsiderate even in dealing with unsatisfactory colleges. I am one of those who think that the people of India should be trained and encouraged to take a larger part in the management of their own affairs; and I venture to say that the Universities Act is the most powerful instrument yet devised for the attainment of that

end. It is still included by the Congress in their annual catalogue of Lord Curzon's "retrograde" measures.

CONVOCATION SPEECHES

No account of Lord Curzon's educational work would be complete without some reference to the annual Addresses which he delivered as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, two of which are now republished. The note of controversy is not absent from these speeches, but in listening to them we felt that the Viceroy was addressing his audience, not as head of the Government, but as the head of an educational body to whose welfare and progress he attached supreme importance, and that his chief desire was to awake a spirit of hope and courage among graduates and students. He would not admit that the university system was a failure; he invited his hearers to help him in improving it. Our progress since 1854 had been "not slow but startling"; but much remained to be done—much that could only be done by Indians; for if Government was to accept heavier responsibilities in connection with elementary schools, the higher education must always be a field for private effort. He besought the students to believe that their English education was not intended to denationalise them, but rather to fit them for an intellectual campaign in which East and West should march together. "Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people."

In the Convocation Address of 1905 the Chancellor adverted briefly to the difficulties of his task. He might not always succeed in understanding the thoughts of young India; they might find obscure meanings in what seemed to him to be simple and true. Still, there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity; and among these Lord Curzon gave the first place to truthfulness. He went on to say that truth had taken a high place in the moral codes of the West before it was similarly honoured in the East, and he suggested that Oriental opinion as to

the lawfulness of deception is still vague and undecided. This doctrine is not absolutely novel, and it was expressed by Lord Curzon with all the proper qualifications. But at that moment the Universities Act was just coming into operation, and the academic atmosphere was highly charged with electricity. The Viceroy's address gave the opponents of Government, as they thought, good ground for a personal attack. Loud cries of indignation were raised at several of the university towns ; the machinery of agitation was set to work ; meetings were held in places where the Congress party was strong. The incriminated address is printed in this volume exactly as it was delivered. Indians and Englishmen can see for themselves how little it takes to make a " popular movement " in Bengal.

EURASIANS

In the ordinary work of administration, the Government of India is constantly engaged in balancing the claims of Hindu, Mussulman, and European ; its task is not rendered easier by the demands and complaints of the mixed community, generally known as Eurasians, though they prefer to call themselves Anglo-Indians. Lord Curzon sympathised with the special trials of this class of British subjects, and he showed his sympathy in a practical way by persuading his Government to agree to a scheme for the enrolment of a Eurasian regiment ; he did not succeed in persuading the Secretary of State. When he came to India, he found much in the programme of the " Anglo-Indian " Association which he could not but regard as fanciful and ill-judged. His address to a deputation of that body was friendly in tone, but friendship was so combined with candour that the members of the deputation were somewhat perturbed. They had come to ask for help, and the Viceroy turned the tables by asking them to help him. His vigorous allocution was not without result. The leaders of Eurasian opinion began to take a more active interest in schemes for improving the education of their own people ; and Government came to their aid with such useful measures as the revision of the scheme of European Education, more liberal support

of schools at hill stations, and the supply of qualified teachers. These measures produced a marked reaction, and in the annals of the Eurasian community Lord Curzon will be acknowledged as one of their best friends.

FAMINE ADMINISTRATION

From the earliest times India has been liable to periods of famine and scarcity, attended by terrible suffering and loss of life. The mass of the people are dependent on agriculture ; their lives are at the mercy of great natural forces which no Government can control. If the rains do not arrive, the crops may be deficient by 50 per cent in one district, and totally destroyed in the next. Under Mohammedan rule, the authorities, central or local, could do nothing ; communications were then so slow that the wisest and most powerful of the Moghuls would have found it impossible to send help from headquarters to a suffering province. Railways, good roads, and honest administration have done much to simplify the problem ; the principles and methods of relief have been reduced to a system, and embodied in the Famine Code of 1898. But the art of administration cannot be codified, any more than the art of war. When the calamity is upon us, we still have to rely on the energy and resource of our local officers, and on the discretion which enables them to carry out large plans of relief without pauperising the cultivator or disorganising the industry by which he lives.

The famine of 1899-1900 affected a population of 25 millions in British India, and of more than 30 millions in Native States. Preparations for relief were made on a scale of unexampled magnitude. The Viceroy's share of the work was not limited to what he did or directed to be done at Simla ; he visited the suffering districts, and formed an independent opinion on the sufficiency of the methods employed. His presence was welcomed by the people as an assurance that Government would do all that was possible to save them.

The two speeches included in this volume will enable the reader to understand the extent of this awful calamity

and the spirit in which it was met. In the Budget debate of March 1900, Lord Curzon gave the Council an exact estimate of the existing and impending scarcity. In the following October he was able to present a report on the measures of relief carried out under his supervision. Of all the speeches in Council during my time this is the one which impressed me most at the time of its delivery ; it is a sober and dignified narrative of efforts and sacrifices which every Englishman may take pride in remembering. Some party men at home thought this a suitable time to attack the Viceroy of India. They accused him of "sitting helplessly by" while the people starved. The people are, happily, better informed than their self-appointed advocates.

IRRIGATION

Both in England and in India, the critics of Government have contended that the true remedy for famine lies in pressing forward great works of irrigation. The water that goes to waste in any one of our mighty rivers would be the salvation of the country if it were stored and distributed.

Lord Curzon gave the answer to this argument in the Budget debate of 1905. In attempting to cope with drought and scarcity, we are in the presence of natural forces which human power has not succeeded, and may never succeed, in controlling. Cherrapunji in Assam may receive as many as twenty inches of rain in twenty-four hours ; it lies below a mountain ridge which breaks the journey of immense masses of vapour, rising from the Bay of Bengal, and brings them down in the form of rain such as Englishmen at home have never seen, and can but imperfectly imagine. We need not count the number of gallons ; for in the face of such a deluge the ablest engineer, backed by all the resources of Government, cannot secure more than a small fraction for the use of the cultivator. While Cherrapunji is submerged, Rajputana may be crying out for water.

At the outset of his administration, Lord Curzon reviewed the history of our schemes of irrigation, and endeavoured to form a practical estimate of the progress which might be achieved in his time. In the Budget debate-

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of 1900, he stated that 19 millions of acres were already under irrigation: under the head of productive works (*i.e.* works which are expected to pay) he looked forward to an extension of $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, at an outlay of eight or nine millions sterling. These estimates were, in the main, borne out by the inquiries of a Commission, presided over by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff. The report, which was presented in 1903, is a document of great interest and value, and it will serve as a kind of Irrigation Code for a long time to come.

In going about India, I have often been struck by the fact that every special branch of our work—Irrigation, or Forestry, or Police—calls for the exercise of administrative skill, and is only rendered possible by the gifts of leadership and management which our officers usually possess. Of this general truth the history of the Chenab Canal, as traced in Lord Curzon's speech at Lyallpur, affords an illustration. It is a considerable feat to have turned a million acres from a jungle to a smiling expanse of cultivation. We should not forget that this beneficent project involved the removal and resettlement of many thousand people; and the people were Punjabis, firmly attached to their own rights and customs, and not always easy to manage. Similar projects have now been devised; the money has been promised; and there is work in hand which will keep the engineers of the Government of India busily occupied for twenty years to come.

To the list of administrative changes for which Lord Curzon was responsible, we have still to add three great reforms to which he devoted much time and thought. He improved the departmental working of the Government of India by releasing its officers from the tyranny of the pen; the number of obligatory reports was considerably reduced; and the practice of the secretariat was somewhat simplified. After an exhaustive inquiry, he took steps to improve the *personnel* and training of the Police Force, which had been recruited, in many parts of the country, from an inferior class, and was regarded by the people as an oppressive and corrupt body. Finally, Lord Curzon led the way in a sustained endeavour to obtain the recognition of Agriculture as a science deserving the liberal support of Government;

and in future the hereditary skill and aptitude of the people will be supplemented by experiment and research, and by good practical tuition. In carrying out the two reforms last mentioned, it was necessary not only to establish sound principles, but to provide ample funds.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It is part of the Viceroy's duty to take charge of the Foreign Department, which conducts the correspondence of India with neighbouring powers, keeps the British Government informed on questions of Asiatic policy connected with India, and supervises the administration of the Native States. This arrangement lays a heavy burden of work on the head of the administration, but it secures his prompt attention to personal questions which might, if otherwise disposed of, give occasion for misunderstanding.

Under Lord Curzon's management, the relations between India and foreign powers were, speaking generally, quite satisfactory. The death of Abdurrahman in 1901 was not followed by any disturbance, and the good understanding established with him was continued with his successor Habibullah. The delimitation of the Seistan boundary removed a source of constant trouble between Persia and Afghanistan. The delimitation of the Aden Hinterland was attended by more serious difficulties, but it ended by securing a satisfactory line of division between British and Turkish spheres of influence.

In Persia, where he was already well known as a traveller, Lord Curzon devoted all his efforts to the opening of trade routes, the extension of the telegraph system, and the maintenance of good relations with Persian Governors and border chieftains. In these perfectly legitimate ways he aimed at building up an influence commensurate with our large interest in the trade of the country. Finally, in the autumn of 1903, the Viceroy paid a visit to the Persian Gulf. After touching at Muscat, an independent Arab State under British influence, the Squadron proceeded to those points on the coast where British subjects, English and Indian, are engaged in business. At Shargah, on what

used to be known as the Pirate Coast, a Durbar was held on board the *Argonaut* for the Chiefs of the littoral. In reading the speech delivered on that occasion, let the English reader bear in mind that the Persian Gulf is kept open for the commerce of all nations by British power, and that the Chiefs are kept at peace among themselves by respect for British authority. I venture to say that the words spoken by the Viceroy of India have produced a deep and lasting effect on the Arab mind. Nothing was wanting that could lend dignity or picturesque variety to the scene, and all present must have noted the significance of this meeting between the British ships, with all their elaborate perfection of equipment, and the boldly handled but more primitive craft in which our visitors made their approach.

In conducting the foreign affairs of India, Lord Curzon never forgot that the North-West Frontier is or may at any time become the key of our strategic position. He recognised, more fully than some at least of his predecessors, that Indian policy must be co-ordinated with the policy of the Imperial Government. In the work of Imperial defence India has to bear her part; and India has not been found wanting. The Government of India lent the troops which saved Natal from an imminent danger; recovered Somaliland from the Mullah; and rescued the Legations at Peking.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER

Before he left the House of Commons, Lord Curzon had spoken, as a member of Lord Salisbury's Ministry, on the subject of Frontier Policy. His contention then was, that the policy associated with the name of Lord Lawrence had been rendered obsolete by change of circumstances, and especially by improved communications. It is no longer possible for the Government of India to remain inactive within its own administrative boundary, and to decline responsibility for all that happens in the debatable land beyond. Our chief hope of peace now lies, not in a Forward policy, but in cultivating friendly relations with the tribes, and in avoiding all measures which give them any excuse for suspecting us of aggressive intentions. For measures of

police in tribal territory, it is prudent to rely as far as possible on local levies under carefully selected British officers.

These are in fact the principles on which Lord Curzon proceeded to act in India. Along the whole frontier, from Chitral to Seistan, regular troops have been withdrawn, and their place has been taken by tribal militia or levies. This policy involves an element of risk, but it affords the best security for peace and order, provided always that it is combined with a firm and judicious handling of frontier difficulties. The seven years of Lord Curzon's term have been years of peace ; there have been no little wars, no military or quasi-military operations, except the "blockade" established against those very obstinate people the Mahsud Waziris.

With a view to the prompt and effective solution of frontier questions, Lord Curzon proposed to separate a considerable tract of country from the Punjab ; and the result of this proposal was, the constitution of the new North - West Frontier Province. There were some distinguished officers, then serving in the Punjab, who resented the change, as involving a reflection on the manner in which their work on the frontier had been done. But the Viceroy's argument prevailed ; the new province is now in its fifth year, and I have reason to believe that the objections, which at one time were vigorously pressed, are now no longer heard. If Lord Curzon deprived the Punjab of part of its population, he has made good the deficiency, by the encouragement given to the policy of irrigation, which promises to add some millions of contented inhabitants to that historic province. In the new province, internal peace has been secured, and there is a marked improvement in every branch of administration.

Lord Curzon has been described as the most outspoken of our Indian Viceroys ; and in addressing the Chiefs of the frontier he told them plainly what the objects of his policy were. His speeches at Quetta and Peshawur ought to be carefully studied ; they produced a great, and, I believe, a lasting effect on the Khans and Sirdars to whom they were addressed. In the East, wisdom is supposed to be the

attribute of age ; there was something picturesque in the high dignity of an office which entitled Lord Curzon to take the chief place in an assembly of greybeards, and to address them in the language of friendly exhortation and sound advice.

THE TIBET MISSION

The Tibetan Question is not argued at length in any of these speeches, but it is sometimes brought forward in support of the assertion that Lord Curzon was an aggressive and warlike Viceroy. A brief statement of facts will enable the impartial critic to form his own opinion.

In 1887 the Government of Lhasa invaded Sikkim, a country under British protection. Defeated in this enterprise, they entered into a treaty under which a boundary was agreed upon, and certain trading facilities were conceded to British subjects. The trade thus established was not large enough to impress Sir Henry Cotton, but it yielded a profit to native tea-merchants from India ; and, if it had been fairly treated, it might have been developed. It was not fairly treated. From the outset, the Tibetan authorities did not observe the provisions of the treaty. It may be said that in declining to trade with us they only wished to safeguard the "isolation" of their country. Tibet is not in fact an isolated country ; and the Dalai Lama, as everybody now understands, was bent on playing a part in the politics of Central Asia. The objects of his policy were well known. He wished to reduce the suzerainty of China to a nullity ; to have no communication with India ; and to cultivate the goodwill of Russia, which he regarded as the predominant Asiatic power. In 1901 he despatched a special mission to the Czar. The Russian Foreign Minister explained that this mission had no political significance ; and the British Foreign Minister, quite rightly, accepted this assurance.

Lord Curzon and his Government, who were throughout unanimous, were not disposed to acquiesce in continued breaches of a treaty in which British subjects had a substantial interest. The Viceroy began with a courteous request that our complaints should be considered ; and his letters were returned unopened. In 1902 he arranged a

conference with Chinese representatives at Yatung. The Chinese envoys took care to arrive too late ; they apologised and professed themselves willing to proceed to such place as His Excellency the Viceroy might consider desirable. If Lord Curzon had named Yatung, or a place in British India, the farce of 1902 would have been played again, possibly by the same performers. By this time it was necessary to show that the Indian Government meant to have a civil answer to a civil question. The Viceroy named Khamba Jong, which is just across the Tibetan border, in the region where our boundary agreement had more than once been violated by the Tibetans. The choice was made with the consent of the Chinese, through whom, or with whom, as the suzerains of Tibet, the Government of India acted throughout ; and it was accepted by the Dalai Lama.

Our Mission went to Khamba Jong, and at this point the diplomatic history of the case is, for the moment, broken off. The Dalai Lama refused to negotiate. We gave him every opportunity to stop the advance of the Mission, first at Khamba Jong, and then at Gyantse. He could have stopped it by offering security for the performance of the legal obligations of his Government. But he believed that his holy city was inaccessible, and he acted on that belief, to his own undoing. When Lord Curzon left India for a brief rest, in April 1904, Colonel Younghusband was at Gyantse, and the advance to Lhasa had become inevitable. For the actual conduct of this arduous undertaking, no praise can be too high. There is nothing to regret, except the loss of Tibetan lives at the Hot Springs, and the guilt of that untoward event lies at the door of the monkish ruler of Lhasa, who sent out a crowd of undisciplined men to stop the advance of our troops.

My object here is only to fill in the details of the provisional report on the Tibet Mission which Lord Curzon presented to his countrymen at home in the summer of 1904. It is, happily, not necessary to enter on the questions which subsequently arose in connection with the treaty negotiated by Colonel Younghusband, and summarily revised by Mr. Brodrick. We are already in a position to say that the Mission has exercised a powerful influence for good. It is

something to have dispelled the notion that a government of Buddhist monks can make themselves independent of the public law of Asia. The Tashi Lama, who succeeds to the spiritual throne vacated by the Dalai Lama, has visited India and paid his respects to the Prince of Wales; and we may look forward to the gradual development of friendly intercourse between our people and their neighbours in Tibet.

BENGAL

Under the Moghul Emperors, the kingdom or province of Bengal included the three sub-provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; all these were taken over by Clive, on behalf of the Company, in 1765.

From Bengal as a base of operations, the Company extended its jurisdiction, westward and eastward, over the whole of Northern India. The political map of the territories thus acquired was formed by a process of accretion and separation. It was at one time intended to divide Bengal into two Presidencies having their headquarters at Agra and at Calcutta respectively; but this proposal was not carried out. The "North-Western Provinces of Bengal" became a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1836; the Punjab, annexed in 1849, was also placed in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor ten years later. In the north-east, Assam, annexed to Bengal in 1826, became a separate Chief-Commissionership in 1874.

Bengal (the three original sub-provinces, with the addition of Eastern Bengal) still remained by far the heaviest charge entrusted to any Local Government. When Lord Curzon went to India, no head of a province was administering much more than half the population which looked to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The duties incumbent on the head of a province are well known to those of our countrymen who have resided or travelled in India. The Lieutenant-Governor, who is always a civilian of more than thirty years' standing, is expected to know every district in his province, its resources, its needs, and its aspirations. He must cultivate the friendship of those leading members of the Hindu and

Mohammedan communities on whom he relies for advice at all times, and for support in moments of difficulty. He must know the local civil service ; only intimate knowledge can enable him to distribute promotion and censure with an even hand.

It is physically impossible that these duties should be performed by one man for a population of eighty millions. Experience proved that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was hopelessly over-weighted. Several incumbents of the office had injured their health by their devotion to duty ; and Sir Charles Elliott, whose industry is proverbial, has declared that he found himself quite unable to get through the day's work in the day. The suggestion that the Lieutenant-Governor might be assisted by an Executive Council was beside the mark ; for the duties above described are personal in their nature ; they must be performed in person, as every Governor of Madras or Bombay has discovered for himself.

From the Viceroy's point of view, the case for a further separation was irresistible ; but in this, as in other acts of his administration, Lord Curzon desired, if possible, to carry public opinion along with him. The legislative work of 1904 was exceptionally heavy, but in the middle of the session the Viceroy found time for a tour through the districts which were most directly affected by the proposed territorial changes. At Chittagong he pointed out to the business community that he was offering them the chance of becoming the principal port of a new and powerful administration, not overshadowed by Calcutta, but capable of developing its own individuality. At Dacca he made a dispassionate, one may even say a sympathetic, reply to the arguments advanced against all possible schemes of division ; at Mymensingh he continued his exposition, and answered point by point the wild assertions which were circulating freely among the people.

These speeches, which, being only of temporary interest, are not reprinted here, produced their legitimate effect. In the following summer, while Lord Curzon was in England, the scheme of subdivision assumed its final shape. There were, however, certain interests, not local in their nature,

and not likely to be conciliated by argument. Calcutta began to fear that her supremacy was in danger. Zemindars, pleaders, and bankers organised meetings of protest, in which students and even schoolboys took a conspicuous part. Large numbers of persons were induced to put pressure on the Anglo-Indian community by boycotting English goods. That some loss was thus inflicted on English merchants is not to be denied; but when one considers that Lord Curzon was himself a strenuous champion and partisan of Indian industries, the logic of the *Swadeshi* movement, as a protest against his policy, is not quite apparent.

The agitators made their appeal from an "autocratic" Viceroy to Bengali sentiment. That sentiment exists, and in my opinion it ought to be encouraged; for every friend of India wishes to see a healthy rivalry between the various communities which make up one Empire. But when this local patriotism displays itself in *Swadeshi* movements and the like, I venture to offer two remarks for the consideration of my Indian friends. In the first place, we cannot forget that the Bengali race has attained its present position of prosperity and influence only under British rule. Under the Mohammedan Nawabs, as a recent writer reminds us, "the real Bengalis were seldom of sufficient importance to be mentioned by native historians." Under our government, they have full scope for their great intelligence and capacity; they dominate their own province, and they push out into other parts of India, where they have no hereditary right to exist, and where, but for our laws, they could not hold their own. In the second place, Bengali sentiment, where it exists, is not in the least affected by the administrative reform of Lord Curzon. The patriotic Bengali retains his language, his literary traditions, his pride in the success of his own people; he may still look to Calcutta as a great centre of academic and social influence.

It is indeed one of the ironies of fortune that Calcutta should more than once have taken the lead in opposing Lord Curzon's measures. Since Lord Wellesley's time, no Governor-General has laboured so hard to elucidate the history, to strengthen the institutions, and to evoke the

corporate spirit of the capital city. Under Lord Curzon's direction, and to a great extent by his personal exertions, the historic lines of Fort William were retraced and permanently marked. The Metcalfe Hall, rescued from comparative neglect, was made the home of a great Library accessible to readers of all classes. It is true that in dealing with the local Corporation the scheme of reform which Lord Curzon inherited from his predecessor incurred the hostility of the more advanced section of native opinion. In the end, Calcutta came to recognise and admire the civic patriotism of the Viceroy ; and in due time his statue will be added to the line of eminent statesmen and soldiers, who are commemorated, in marble or in bronze, on the historic Maidan.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

In approaching the subject of military administration, the Viceroy of India finds himself between two fires. He has to cope with the arguments of gentlemen who seem to assume that all military expenditure is a waste of money ; and he has to meet the demands of the experts, who are so bent on perfecting the machine that they lose sight of the Budget altogether.

In 1899 the efficiency of the Indian Army was called in question by critics at home, who were experts, but not exactly specialists ; they knew little of the efforts of successive Military Members of Council, and made no allowance for their difficulties. To the general charge of inefficiency, South Africa and China have supplied a fairly complete answer ; but there could be no doubt that in some points our military preparations were inadequate. The Viceroy's first duty is to make India safe ; and India is not safe unless her armies are able to face European troops, armed with the best modern weapons. This being the standard, it was found necessary to re-arm the native regiments ; to strengthen the artillery, and to make a substantial addition to the number of British officers. These changes involved a large expenditure, and in the Budget debate of 1900 Lord Curzon announced that there would probably be no reduction of military estimates in his time. It is need-

less to say that this announcement was unpopular ; but the circumstances of the time were favourable to the taxpayer : the public revenue was such as to afford a surplus, and the savings effected by lending troops for service out of India were applied in carrying out the necessary improvements.

Among the items of expense was a sum assigned for the introduction of electric lighting and electric fans into barracks. This may appear to be a detail ; but it relates to a matter which Lord Curzon had at heart. He knew well that the hot, dark night is the time when the British soldier's temper gives way and the punkah-coolie who goes to sleep runs the risk of being maimed or killed. Every such assault was regarded by Lord Curzon as a serious incident calling for strict investigation, and, where an offence was proved, for adequate punishment. His action exposed him to much hostile comment from his own countrymen, and no part of his conduct was more frequently discussed in Anglo-Indian newspapers. I do not now propose to enter fully into this controversy. To do so it would be necessary to examine the evidence and procedure in each case—a course of preparatory study with which Lord Curzon's critics have commonly dispensed. He was deeply interested in any plan which promised to add to the comfort of British soldiers, but he was determined to exact from them a high standard of behaviour and a due regard for the rights of their Indian fellow-subjects.

THE NEW ARMY DEPARTMENT

Lord Curzon's experience in India had given him confidence in the military system which he had to administer. Under that system the Military Department was placed in charge of an Ordinary Member of Council, always a soldier, but precluded, during his term of office, from holding any command in the Army. The office had been held by men in the first rank of their profession, such as were Sir George Chesney and Sir Henry Brackenbury. The Military Member remained at the headquarters of Government during the working year, and was the constitutional adviser of the Viceroy on questions relating to the Army.

The Secretary of State was empowered to appoint, and did, as a general rule, appoint the Commander-in-Chief to be an Extraordinary Member of Council. As head of the Army, the Commander-in-Chief was responsible for promotion and discipline, and for all movements of troops. In case of war, he might have to take command in the field, and even in time of peace his duties often prevented him from attending regularly in Council.

The relations between Army Headquarters and the Military Department varied to some extent with the personal qualities of the two distinguished officers concerned ; friction was usually avoided, but there was an occasional misunderstanding. At Simla the two offices were close together ; but they conducted their business by correspondence. When the Commander-in-Chief had a proposal to make, it was brought to the notice of the Viceroy in Council through the Military Department.

This procedure was strongly objected to by Lord Kitchener, who arrived in India at the end of 1902. His plan was, to create an Army Department of which he should himself be the head, and to transfer to this new authority the whole business of military administration.

I was not in Council when this plan was discussed, and my experience does not qualify me to offer an opinion on the merits of Lord Kitchener's proposal. Lord Curzon, who was supported by the Ordinary Members of his Council, was unable to accept it. They were unanimously of opinion that the tendency of the scheme was to concentrate military authority in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and to subvert the supremacy of the civil power by depriving it of independent military advice. Even as amended by the Secretary of State, the scheme was still found open to objection. The Military Member was to be retained ; but the position assigned to him was such that the Governor-General in Council thought he could no longer rely on having the assistance of an officer thoroughly acquainted with the Indian Army, and entitled to express an independent opinion on the political, financial, and administrative aspects of all military proposals. The Government might thus be left without adequate means of information, face

to face with the newly constituted military power. The scheme, they considered, could only be worked to advantage if it were laid down that the new Supply Member should be a military officer of great experience, authorised to act as the general adviser of Government. Lord Curzon indicated the type of officer he wanted, and suggested a name. The Secretary of State rejected the Viceroy's recommendation, and intimated that Lord Curzon should consult the Commander-in-Chief as to the officer to be selected. Mr. Brodrick's description of the class of officer to be appointed, and the terms in which he defined the advisory powers of the Supply Member, were not satisfactory to Lord Curzon. Convinced that a serious, and, as he thought, a dangerous revolution was contemplated in the constitution of the Government of India, he tendered his resignation in August 1905, and left India in the following November.

THE PRESS

India, that is to say, the educated class in India, is abundantly supplied with newspapers, more or less closely conforming to the type of English journalism. Lord Curzon was a diligent student of their columns ; he received from them many hints which he turned to practical account ; and he was always willing to supply them with information. He instituted a Press Room at Calcutta and Simla, for the purpose of enabling the newspapers to obtain full and early intelligence of official proceedings.

On many disputed questions the Indian and the Anglo-Indian papers take different sides ; the former were joined by many of the latter in opposition to the Official Secrets Bill of 1903. The history of that measure may be given in a very few words. Certain persons had been discovered in the act of photographing fortifications ; the military authorities wished to prosecute, but they were advised that under the Act then in force, which dated from 1889, it would be necessary to prove a criminal intention, and the offenders went unpunished. It was plainly expedient to strengthen the law. On taking up the Act for amendment, it was found to have been so drafted that, while one eminent

advocate had described it as an Act for the protection of military secrets only, another equally eminent had held that it also applied to civil affairs. The Government decided to clear up this ambiguity, by including civil affairs in the scope of the Bill.

In its military aspect, the Bill was not opposed ; and it appears to me that, by making this concession, the critics gave away the whole case. If their views had been accepted, the law would have stood so, that the man who copied the pattern of a new regimental button would be guilty of an offence, while the man who published the draft of an important treaty would go scot-free. From the practical point of view, the Bill was only a small but necessary improvement in the criminal law ; it was denounced all over India as a deliberate attack on the liberties of the Press. One English newspaper announced that the Government of India was about to enter on a "debauch of Press prosecutions." An Indian member of the Council asserted that Lord Curzon was borrowing his methods of administration from Russia. If this critic could only have been placed for a few weeks in charge of a newspaper at Odessa, and if he had said of the Government there what he used to say about us in Calcutta, he would have returned to his home in British India, a sadder and a much wiser man.

LORD CURZON AND PUBLIC OPINION

In this rapid survey, many points of interest must be omitted ; I have tried to indicate with precision what Lord Curzon attempted, and how far he succeeded in achieving his purpose. It is not yet time to sum up the results of his policy ; nor is mine the pen that should be employed for that purpose. But, after enumerating some of the heavy tasks imposed on him, I will end by saying something of the impression which his work produced.

The reward of a good Viceroy consists in the confidence of the Services ; in the support which he receives from the ruling Chiefs, and from leading members of the community ; and in the gratitude of the people. It cannot be truly said that Lord Curzon has missed his reward. He often

fluttered the dovecotes of officialism, but there are few of those who worked with and under him who will refuse to acknowledge his earnest desire to do justice and to do good. By the Princes and Chiefs he will be remembered as a representative of the Crown who sought their friendship and aided their efforts without encroaching on their independence. For the people—there are, as we know, many millions of men in India to whom the Viceroy of the moment is only a passing figure in a procession. But wherever Lord Curzon's duties required his personal presence the people too will remember him as a Viceroy who wished to see with his own eyes what they were doing, and what was being done for them; as an Englishman who proved his sympathy by respecting their beliefs, and his piety by repairing their temples and tombs.

The speeches now collected range over a great variety of topics; they are fused into a consistent whole by Lord Curzon's earnest desire to illustrate, in dealing with each particular question, the principles and aims of British rule in India. He lost no opportunity of testifying to his conviction that India is in many ways the pivot of our imperial system; that its government is the noblest duty imposed upon the British race; and that our duty will not be worthily performed unless justice and humanity are made the corner-stones of our policy. He has set a high standard for others; and by that standard he must himself be judged. As one of those who shared in the labours of his administration, I am not in a position to pass judgment: in these pages panegyric and criticism would be equally out of place. My endeavour has been, to state the facts fairly, and to supply my countrymen with the materials for a wise and dispassionate verdict.

INTRODUCTORY

DINNER GIVEN BY OLD ETONIANS IN LONDON

ON October 28, 1898, Lord Curzon (Viceroy-Designate of India), the Earl of Minto (Governor-General-Designate of Canada), and Rev. J. E. C. Welldon (Bishop-Designate of Calcutta) were entertained at a farewell dinner by a large number of old Etonians at the Café Monico in London. The Earl of Rosebery, who presided, proposed the toast of "Our Guests." Lord Curzon replied as follows:—

This gathering to-night, composed as it is of old school-fellows, old friends, of men who have inherited the same traditions and are loyal to the same collegiate mother, is a compliment which I am sure the happy trio who are fortunate enough to be your guests are never likely to forget. But if there is anything that could enhance the special significance and value of that compliment, it would consist in the fact that Lord Rosebery has consented to occupy the chair and in the speech to which we listened a short while ago. It will ever be memorable to me, whose public life has been associated with one political party, that at this turning-point in my fortunes, my health has been proposed by one who has been the leader of the rival political party. And it will be memorable to all of us, your guests this evening, that, as we are starting forth for our different spheres of work, the farewell to which we have listened should have proceeded from the lips of an ex-Prime Minister of England. Surely there is something of good omen in this combination. For, after all, we each of us are going out to occupy, if the expression may be

permitted, a different thwart in that stout craft of Empire of which Lord Rosebery once pulled the stroke oar. From his lips we have all of us, on many occasions, imbibed the lessons of an Imperialism, exalted but not arrogant, fearless but not rash—an Imperialism which is every day becoming less and less the creed of a party and more and more the faith of a nation. I have said that we are especially fortunate in our hosts and in our Chairman. But may I, for myself, also claim a particular good fortune in the person of one of my fellow-guests? When twenty years ago Welldon and I lived together in Paris, in the house of a French apothecary, to study the French language; when at a later date we crossed together the United States of America, and together viewed the glories of Niagara and the Yosemite; when on another occasion, in the company of a dear friend, also present to-night, the Head-Master of Haileybury,¹ we rode together across the mountains and valleys of Greece, little did we think that the day would one day come when at the same time he and I should be going forth to the same great continent, to take our share in that noble work which I firmly believe has been placed by the inscrutable decrees of Providence upon the shoulders of the British race. I congratulate India upon having obtained such a successor to the See of Heber and of Cotton. I congratulate myself that I shall have as my spiritual and episcopal master one of my oldest and dearest of friends.

Lord Rosebery has spoken in gracious terms of the circumstances under which I have accepted this appointment. There is a passage in the writings of Thomas Carlyle which in this connection has always haunted my mind. This is what that acute but rugged old philosopher said:—

"I have sometimes thought what a thing it would be could the Queen in Council pick out some gallant-minded stout cadet and say to him, 'Young fellow, if there do lie in you potentialities of governing, of gradually guiding, leading and coercing to a noble goal, how sad it is they should be all lost. See, I have scores on scores of colonies.'

¹ Rev. Canon E. Lyttelton, now Head-Master of Eton.

One of these you shall have as vice-king. Go you and buckle with it in the name of Heaven, and let us see what you will build it to."

Though these words were spoken of the West Indian colonies, I think that, *mutatis mutandis*, they are equally applicable to the East Indian Empire; and they indicate to me the spirit of courage, but yet of humility, of high aspiration, but still more of duty, in which any man should approach such a task. I have often seen during the past few weeks my acceptance of this office attributed to a variety of causes—to personal ambition, to the disappointment of Parliamentary hopes, to failing health. My own experience of public life, such as it has been, leads me to think that the simplest explanation of the phenomena of human action—human beings being more or less always cast in the same mould—is likely to be the most correct, and that the recondite is apt to be the fallacious as well as the obscure. Is it permissible, therefore, for me to say in this company of old school-fellows and of personal friends that, whatever may have been the views of those who thought me worthy of this office, I gladly accepted it because I love India, its people, its history, its government, the absorbing mysteries of its civilisation and its life? I think it was while I was at Eton that a sense of its overwhelming importance first dawned upon my mind. There we were perpetually invited by a body of assiduous and capable mentors,—I need hardly say that I allude to the Eton masters,—and we responded with greater or less reluctance to the appeal, to contemplate the pomp and majesty, the law and the living influence, of the Empire of Rome. We had at Eton in my day, and I hope it still flourishes, an institution called the Literary Society, of which, I believe, my friend Welldon was one of the first presidents, and in which I afterwards had the honour to follow in his footsteps. To this society, from time to time, came down eminent men to preach to us about the wider world outside. Among those distinguished persons who came in my day was Sir James Fitz-James Stephen, but just returned from India—the father of my dear friend, Jim Stephen, the "J. K. S." of the literary world, that brilliant

but meteoric intellect that all too soon plunged into the abyss and was lost from view. Sir James Stephen came down to Eton and told the boys that listened to him, of whom I was one, that there was in the Asian continent an empire more populous, more amazing, and more beneficent than that of Rome ; that the rulers of that great dominion were drawn from the men of our own people ; that some of them might perhaps in the future be taken from the ranks of the boys who were listening to his words. Ever since that day, and still more since my first visit to India in 1887, the fascination and, if I may say so, the sacredness of India have grown upon me, until I have come to think that it is the highest honour that can be placed upon any subject of the Queen that in any capacity, high or low, he should devote such energies as he may possess to its service.

But may I carry my suggestion one step further ? May I not say that the growth of the ideal of duty has been the most salient feature in the history of our relations with India during the past hundred years, and still more during the reign of the present Queen ? A century ago India in the hands of the East India Company was regarded as a mercantile investment, the business of whose promoters and agents was to return as large dividends as possible—and the larger, of course, the better—to the pockets of their shareholders at home. In the course of these proceedings many of those men amassed great wealth, almost beyond the dreams of avarice—wealth, the display of which was apt to be vulgar, and the source of which was often impure. Indian posts, low as well as high, were the spoils of political patronage at home, and were exclusively distributed according to the narrowest and most selfish exigencies of party polemics in England. We have only to look to the treatment of Warren Hastings to realise how little the welfare of India was thought of in comparison with the loss or gain to Whigs and Tories in London. I do not say that we have altogether extricated India from the perils and the contamination of the party system ; I do not say that our administration of that great empire is altogether free from blemish or taint. But I do say that it is informed with a spirit of duty, and that it is edified and elevated by that influence. I do say that

we think much of the welfare of India, and but little of its wealth ; that we endeavour to administer the government of that country in the interests of the governed ; that our mission there is one of obligation and not of profit ; and that we do our humble best to retain by justice that which we may have won by the sword. May we not, indeed, say that at the end of the nineteenth century the spectacle presented by our dominion in India is that of British power sustained by a Christian ideal ?

What then is the conception of his duty that an outgoing Viceroy should set before himself ? I have no new or startling definition to give, but the light in which it presents itself to my mind is this. It is his duty, first and foremost, to represent the authority of the Queen-Empress, whose name, revered more than the name of any other living sovereign by all races and classes from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, is in India both a bond of union and the symbol of power ; and to associate with the personal attributes that cling about that name the conviction that the justice of her government is inflexible, that its honour is stainless, and that its mercy is in proportion to its strength. Secondly, he should try to remember that all those people are not the sons of our own race, or creed, or clime, and that it is only by regard for their feelings, by respect for their prejudices,—I will even go so far as to say by deference to their scruples,—that we can obtain the acquiescence as well as the submission of the governed. Thirdly, his duty is to recognise that, though relatively far advanced in the scale of civilisation compared with the time of Lord Wellesley, or even Lord Canning, India is still but ill-equipped with the material and industrial and educational resources which are so necessary to her career ; and so to work that she may, by slow but sure degrees, expand to the full measure of her growth. And lastly, it is to preserve intact and secure, either from internal convulsion or external inroad, the boundaries of that great and Imperial dominion.

This, I would venture to suggest, is the conception which every outgoing Viceroy sets before himself. He is probably unwise if he attempts to fill in the details too closely in advance. The experience in which he must be sadly

lacking at the start, but which will come to him in increasing volume day by day, will, with slow and sometimes with painful touch, fill in the details as he proceeds. For after all—and I speak to those, if there are any here present, who have travelled in the East and have caught the fascination of its mysterious surroundings—the East is a University in which the scholar never takes his degree. It is a temple in which the suppliant adores but never catches sight of the object of his devotion. It is a journey the goal of which is always in sight but is never attained. There we are always learners, always worshippers, always pilgrims. I rejoice to be allowed to take my place in the happy band of students and of wayfarers who have trodden that path for a hundred years. I know that I have everything to learn. I have, perhaps, many things to unlearn. But if the test of the pupil be application, and of the worshipper faith, I hope that I may pass through the ordeal unscathed. At any rate, I have among the long list of names inscribed on the back of this *menu* the example of three immediate Eton predecessors to guide me—of Lord Dufferin, whose Indian Viceroyalty was but the culminating point in a career which for over thirty years has been the property less of himself than of his country; of Lord Lansdowne, who left India amid greater manifestations of popularity and esteem than any departing Viceroy since the Mutiny; and of my immediate predecessor Lord Elgin, who has confronted a time of storm and stress with a fortitude and a composure which are worthy of the high name that he bears and of the race from which he is sprung. I know that with these distinguished predecessors I cannot hope to compete. But there is one characteristic which I share together with them, and which we derive from our common part in the Eton heritage, and that is the desire to be true to the honour and the credit of that ancient foundation. I am not so foolish to-night as to utter any vain prophecies, or to indulge in any illusive hopes; but I shall be satisfied if I can carry out the work which they have begun, and if at the end of my time it can be said of me that I have not been unworthy of the traditions of the greatest and the noblest of schools.

DINNER GIVEN BY ROYAL SOCIETIES' CLUB
IN LONDON

Lord Curzon was entertained at dinner on November 7, 1898, by the Royal Societies' Club at their House Club in St. James's Street. Sir Clements Markham, K.C.B., President of the Club, was in the chair, and proposed the health of Lord Curzon, who replied as follows:—

Among the parting compliments which have been offered to me before leaving England, there is none which I have accepted more readily, or which I have enjoyed more keenly, than the honour of this evening. For here I have the privilege of meeting and being entertained by a number of gentlemen who are interested in many branches of scientific inquiry, and not least in that one with which alone I can claim to have any practical connection, viz. the science of geography. It is a commonplace of public life that we all of us have our innocent distractions, which, however little we may excel in them, we pursue with an enthusiasm which is at least sincere. A dreadful book was published in London last year in which eminent personages were invited to state what were the amusements with which they occupied their leisure hours. One man said photography; another man preferred golf; a third indulged with exhilaration in the composition of some noxious gas; and a fourth would take his morning dip in the Serpentine. My own distraction for many years has been the study of the geography of Asia in its political and commercial as well as in its physical aspects; and I can truthfully say that the distinction which in all my life I have most valued, outside the domain of politics, has been that which I received a little more than three years ago from the hands of the Chairman of this evening, viz. the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society.

The President has spoken in gracious and complimentary terms of my appointment to the high office which I am about to take up. I have said on a previous occasion that I am glad to go to India; and my main reason for being so is the fact that India has always appeared to me to be the pivot and centre—I do not say the geographical, but the

political and Imperial centre—of the British Empire.¹ To my mind we are before and beyond all else an Asiatic dominion ; and I venture to think that the man who has never been east of Suez does not know what the British Empire is. Here in Europe we occupy a few small islands that are scattered on the surface of the Northern Sea. We possess a number of carefully-selected and well-adapted points of vantage along the highways of commerce in the Mediterranean ; and we have also a Navy so formidable that it constitutes us the most powerful maritime nation in the world. Elsewhere, in the American Continent, and in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, we possess great tracts of territory, amounting in some cases to the size of continents, which are peopled by men of our own blood, flying the same flag, and enjoying the sovereignty of the same Queen. Such possessions have been acquired, and such colonies have been founded, not of course on the same scale, but on a smaller scale, by other nations. But it is in Asia and in India that the great experiment is being made. It is there that we are doing a work which no other people has ever attempted to do before, and by the doing of which we shall be judged in history. There lies the true fulcrum of dominion, the real touchstone of our Imperial greatness or failure.

Why were we first tempted into Egypt ? Because it lay on the route to India. What was the reason of our old traditional policy as regards Constantinople and the Turkish Empire ? Because their possession by a hostile power was held to be a danger to our Eastern dominions. Why do we maintain an expensive establishment in Persia and exercise a supreme control over the Persian Gulf ? Because the former is on the road to India, and because the waters of the latter mingle with those of the Indian Ocean and open a path to Indian shores. What was the origin of our Colonies at the Cape ? Because we went by that way to India. Why do we subsidise the Amir of Afghanistan, and why have we twice or three times sent military expeditions into that fateful country ? Because it is a glacis of the Indian fortress, on which we cannot afford to permit the lodgment of an enemy. Why are we interested in the forlorn

¹ Compare pp. 28, 107.

and inhospitable wastes of the Pamirs? And why have such perilous diplomatic controversies arisen in connection with territories so intrinsically abominable and vile? Because they command the northern passes into India. Why did we guarantee the main part of the kingdom of Siam? And why do we take so keen an interest in the fortunes of that picturesque country and in the policy of its enlightened monarch? Because it is one of those border States that are coterminous with British territory in India and that separate the Indian frontier from a rival European State. Why, in conclusion, do men talk so much about the Upper Yangtse and about Szechuan and Yunnan? Because those provinces are contiguous with Upper Burma, that is, with India itself. I might pursue this subject indefinitely, but I think I have said enough to show how the casual stone, which was thrown into the sea of chance by a handful of merchant adventurers 200 years ago, has produced an ever-extending circle of ripples, until at the present moment they embrace the limits and affect the destinies of the entire Asiatic Continent. I am one of those who think that the Eastward trend of Empire will increase and not diminish. In my belief the strain upon us will become greater and not less. Parliament will learn to know Asia almost as well as it now knows Europe; and the time will come when Asiatic sympathies and knowledge will be not the hobby of a few individuals, but the interest of the entire nation.

It is because of the intensity of the conviction with which I hold these views that all my travels and studies and writings, such as they have been, have been connected with the theme of India and the neighbouring countries. No pleasure has been greater to me than that of wandering along the frontiers of our Indian dominions and of observing the manner in which we there discharge our Imperial task. In doing so I have learned something of the character and temperament of the native tribes. Those wild clansmen have an individuality that is entirely their own. We have sometimes, I may even say often, been compelled to fight them. We have never fought them gladly, and we have always sheathed the sword with pleasure. For there is a manliness in their patriotism and a love of independence in their blood

that is akin to our own. If I were asked what appears to me to be the secret of the proper treatment of those tribes, or of Oriental races in general, I would reply that it consists in treating them as if they were men of like composition with ourselves. I do not mean to suggest that they have the same views, the same scruples, the same precepts, or the same codes as ourselves ; in many instances the diametrically opposite is the case. But there is a common bond of manhood between us, the element of the human in humanity, which holds us together, and is the true link of union ; and it is the recognition of that bond, and the sense of fellowship that it engenders, that have been the secret of the success of every great Frontier officer that we have ever had. I know that there is a widespread belief in this country that the Oriental is a solemn and reflective creature from whom we are separated by oceans of moral and intellectual difference ; and nowhere has this idea been better expressed than in the magnificent verse of Matthew Arnold, in which he described the contact of the Empire of Rome with the East and the issue of that collision :—

The East bowed low before the blast
In patient deep disdain ;
She let the legions thunder past,
And—plunged in thought again.

There is no doubt a great deal of truth in that. It is the note of the Oriental as contrasted with the Western temperament. But I venture to say that, however true it may be of the inhabitants of the soaked and low-lying plains, it is not true, or at any rate it is much less true, of the highlanders on the outskirts of our Indian dominions. There we find a light-hearted and festive temperament ; we meet with laughter and dancing and song ; above all, we recognise the power of a well-organised and well-delivered joke. When I look back upon some of my experiences, and remember the dinner that Captain Younghusband¹ and I gave to the poor Mehtar of Chitral, afterwards murdered by his brother, or when I recall my many conversations

¹ Now Sir Francis Younghusband. Lord Curzon and he were in Chitral together in October 1894, as the guests of the Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was shot in the back while out hawking, and killed, on January 1, 1905.

with the Amir of Afghanistan,¹ I recognise that the saving grace of humour is just as much a property of Orientals as of ourselves, and that the man who wants to find a key to their heart and to their sympathies will do well to employ that weapon.

I have also been much struck on my Frontier travels by the character and the work of the young British officers who are there engaged in positions of responsibility or command. It may be thought perhaps that I have a natural and even selfish propensity towards youth. So I have. I should be the last to deny it, and I hope I may retain it even when I am old. For of one thing I am certain, that the old men who have rendered best service to their country have been those who have also been capable of stimulating, encouraging, and utilising the services of the young. It may also be thought that youth is synonymous with impetuosity. Nevertheless I have found in those regions just as keen a sense of responsibility, as cool a judgment, and as wise a forecast among the young men as I have among their seniors. In a sense it is even more so in proportion; since the young officer who exceeds his instructions or who takes the bit between his teeth has no previous reputation to save him from the consequences of disaster. We employ, and we rightly employ, the grey-beards in our councils and in positions of supreme control; but on the outskirts of civilisation we require the energy, the vitality, and the physical strength of youth. I look forward with enthusiasm to being the colleague and the leader of those young men, and I wish them God-speed in the work that they have undertaken.

Then, again, upon the Frontier one sees something at first hand of the native soldiers of the Indian Empire. I wish those brave men were better known at home. From time to time, at a Jubilee celebration or otherwise, we see detachments of them in the streets of London. But, for the most part, their services are rendered and their gallantry displayed in fields that are far removed

¹ The allusion is to Lord Curzon's visit to Kabul as the guest of Amir Abdur Rahman Khan in November 1894. The Amir's account of the same conversations is to be found in his *Life*, edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mohammed Khan (2 vols., 1900).

from the public gaze at home ; and I doubt if our people here or if the nations of Europe have any idea of the magnificent Native Army that we possess. I can only attribute to this ignorance the utterly inadequate response that has been made to the appeal for the Indian Heroes' Fund, which was organised for the relief of the families of those who fought so bravely for us in the Frontier campaigns of last year. Those men laid down their lives for us, fighting in some cases against men of their own race, of their own religion, sometimes of their own family, with as much strenuousness and loyalty as if they had been British redcoats defending a British home. But in proportion to the ignorance which prevails upon this subject is the duty which rests upon those who know to speak. When it is said that we hold India by the sword, be it remembered that that sword is two-thirds forged of Indian metal, and that in reality we defend her frontiers and fight her battles by the aid of her own sons.

The march of science and the improvements in steam communication are every day bringing India nearer to ourselves. From one point of view that is a great advantage ; for in proportion as we know more, so shall we misunderstand less, and there will be less chance of mistakes and blunders and crimes. But there is something to be said on the other side also. In the old days a man who went out for an Indian career, whether as Viceroy or Governor, or in some subordinate post of administration, went out for the work of a lifetime. It took him, in fact, no inconsiderable part of a lifetime to get there. When Clive went to India in 1742 he was more than a year upon the way ; when Warren Hastings first went out in 1750 he spent from eight to nine months upon the journey, and when he finally returned in 1785 his passage occupied four months, and was regarded as exceptionally quick. The average interval between the issue of a despatch and the receipt of a reply was one and a half years. The consequence was that men settled in India, so to speak, for a lifetime. They were continued in positions for which they were fitted. They came home for a holiday perhaps once in their career. Right into the course of the present century a Viceroy occupied

the Viceregal chair for a period of ten years.¹ There were great advantages in that system. There grew up from it a solidarity of interests between the rulers and the ruled, and a sympathetic and intimate knowledge which was an immeasurable gain in the development and pacification of the country. Nowadays all that is changed. The journey to India is accomplished in a fortnight. An Englishman in India may enjoy six weeks in London, and will be back at his post in three months from the date at which he left it. The telegraph repeats to him every morning the news and the excitements of Europe. Of course this has a freshening effect upon his intellect; but it has a disturbing effect also. The consequence is that he looks less to India and more to home. He does not merge the European in the Asiatic interest; but is the temporary exile who is always looking to his return home. This is the tendency, perhaps an inevitable tendency, of our modern system, but it is one the serious side of which it would be well to recognise. Anyhow, the term of the Viceroy is fixed. By a practice which has become almost invariable, he cannot leave the shores of India for five years. During that time he is a prisoner, though in my case it will be a happy imprisonment, behind the bars of that gilded cage. Whether the period of five years is a long enough time for him to do his work, whether in that period he can make any lasting impression upon the tremendous problems that come before him, or upon the vast populations committed to his care, is a question which I shall be better able to answer five years hence than now. Anyhow, they are certain to be the most crowded and responsible years of his life. As he takes up the task there comes upon him a feeling that there is much in it that is altogether beyond his powers, and exceeds perhaps his most extreme desires. But I believe that he may confidently rely upon the indulgence and the toleration of his fellow-countrymen, who are just to their servants beyond the seas, and that they will echo the God-speed which you have given to me to-night.

¹ The Marquis of Hastings, 1813-1823.

ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY

Lord and Lady Curzon landed at Bombay on December 30, 1898. In reply to an Address of welcome from the Municipality, Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

I accept with pleasure the Address which you have just read out to me, and I have been struck by the cordiality and eloquence of the terms in which it is expressed. No Viceroy can set foot on these shores, which are to be his home and the scene of his labours for five years, without a keen and almost overpowering sense of the importance of the vista that opens before him, or without a corresponding gratefulness for the first words of welcome that fall from the lips of those over whose fortunes he is about to preside. To me it is some slight alleviation of the anxiety in which any man must be placed at such a moment, that I do not come altogether as a stranger to your country, and that the intimate concern which I have long entertained in its people and problems, and which will be commensurate with my life itself, is based not exclusively upon hearsay or upon reading, but upon some small personal acquaintance with India. This is the fifth time that I have gazed from the sea upon the majestic panorama of your city of palaces and palms; and if my previous visits have been those of a private traveller only, they have yet given me an interest, which official experience can but enhance, in your city—itself so worthy a gateway to a land of enchantment—and in its occupations, so typical of the busy industry to which the peoples of India have turned under the security assured to them by British rule. I am glad to note that in this Address you speak of the "earnest and devoted loyalty which the whole Empire entertains for the Queen-Empress." My first sentiment in accepting this great office when it was bestowed upon me was one of pride that it has fallen to my lot to be one of the Governors-General—the fifteenth in number, but I would fain hope not the last—in her long and illustrious reign. Such a recollection fires a wonderful train of memory, for it brings before one a stately procession of names, many of which have passed into the Valhalla of history,

and it recalls a period at the commencement of which India was but a scattered dominion, while at its close it is a relatively homogeneous Empire. But it also awakens in the breast of an incoming Viceroy an ardent sense of duty, for it inspires him with the desire to emulate those distinguished predecessors, and to act in a manner not unworthy of that august and benignant Sovereign whom he is privileged to represent. I believe the loyalty of which you speak to the person and the throne of the Queen-Empress to be as widespread as it is profound and sincere. In my eyes it is more than any other factor the bond which holds together in harmonious union the diverse races and creeds of this country, and which secures to them the blessings of internal peace and tranquillity ; and during my stay in India I shall spare no effort, so far as in me lies, to fortify, to diffuse, and to encourage that feeling.

I have seen it somewhere stated that I am expected, on this the first occasion that I speak on Indian soil, to say something of the principles which are likely to be the basis of my administration. I hold myself dispensed from any such obligation for more reasons than one. In the first place, I have, before leaving England, given halting expression to the spirit, at any rate, in which I approach this undertaking, and the fact that you have in your Address quoted with approval some of the sentiments to which I then gave utterance leads me to think that I need not repeat them now. In the second place, it would be presumptuous to assume that any one Viceroy enters upon his office with a conception of its duties more generous or more exacting than his predecessors. Each of them, as he has landed on this quay, has doubtless felt that he has been summoned to no mean calling, and has mentally resolved that justice and magnanimity, that sympathy and prudence, shall be the keynotes of his administration. I remember that a great countryman of mine,¹ on being sent to take up a mission, not indeed comparable with this, but one that brought him into contact with religions and races different from his own, in a remote and difficult country, said that he went out to hold the scales even. Such might be no contemptible motto for a Viceroy of India. For with what a mosaic of

¹ General Gordon, on one of his earlier African missions.

nationalities and interests he is confronted—with his own countrymen, few in number, and scattered far and wide under a trying climate in a foreign land, and with the manifold races and beliefs, so composite and yet so divergent, of the indigenous population, in its swarming and ever-multiplying millions. To hold the scales even under such conditions is a task that calls indeed for supple fingers and for nerves of steel. But there is another reflection that leads me to place some restriction upon anything that I may say about the future. No one can be more conscious than myself that the verdict to be passed upon my administration depends not upon glittering promise or fair prophecy now, but upon actual performance later on. The time for rejoicing is not when a man putteth on his armour, but when he taketh it off. I thank you for your friendly greeting, because no man can be insensible to the encouragement of a generous welcome. But I shall be tenfold better pleased if, when I weigh anchor from these shores, and when all eyes are turned towards my successor, any of you who are now present can come forward truthfully to testify that during my time I have done something, if it even be but little, for this land, which, next to my own country, is nearest to my heart.¹

In your Address you call my attention to the fact that, during the past few years, India has been subject to the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, and that your own Presidency has suffered sorely from the ravages of the two latter in particular. In England our hearts have gone out to you in your trouble—our purse-strings have, as you know, been unloosened on your behalf. The unceasing and devoted efforts of your rulers—of the present illustrious Viceroy,² and in this place of your Governor,³ whose application to the onerous work imposed upon him by the plague has excited widespread gratitude and admiration—have, I believe, enabled India to cope with these trials in a manner more successful than on any previous occasions. In this great city the patience of your people, the voluntary co-operation of your leading citizens, and the natural vitality

¹ *Vide* the allusion to this passage in Lord Curzon's farewell speech at the Bicyclu Club, Bombay, seven years later, p. 574.

² The Earl of Elgin.

³ Lord Sandhurst.

of your resources have greatly assisted in the work of recuperation ; and I would fain believe that the corner has now been turned and that an era of reviving prosperity is already beginning to dawn. To that movement it will be my agreeable duty to lend whatever impulse I can ; and it is with feelings of sympathy that I regard, and shall take an early opportunity of inquiring into, the great undertaking to which, with so marked a combination of courage and wisdom, you are about to address yourselves in Bombay.¹ In conclusion, it only remains for me to thank you for the gracious welcome that you have extended, along with myself, to Lady Curzon. She comes to this country with predispositions not less favourable and with sympathies not less warm than mine ; and with me she looks forward with earnest delight to a life of labour, but of happy labour, in your midst. Allow me, Sir, to thank you in conclusion for the Address, and for the handsome and artistic casket in which it is enclosed.

¹ The City Improvement, since carried into execution by a specially constituted Trust.

GENERAL

DURBAR AT LUCKNOW

ON December 13, 1899, the Viceroy held a Durbar at Lucknow, for the reception of the Talukdars and other Durbaris of Oudh. The proceedings took place in a large tent pitched in the Martinière Park, and the total number present was over 1000. The Viceroy delivered the following speech :—

In the concluding stages of a tour, which, while it has been one of hard work and of some strain, has yet taught me much and enabled me to see much that a Viceroy of India ought to know, it is with no small pleasure that I meet, in the dignified and time-honoured function of a Durbar, so famous and so loyal a body of Her Majesty's subjects as the Talukdars of Oudh. Already, upon my arrival at Calcutta, you have paid me the compliment of an Address of welcome, presented to me by the hands of your President, the Maharaja of Ajudhya. And now, in the historic capital of your own province, to which so many memories cling that are dear both to your race and mine, the opportunity is presented to me of returning the compliment, and of receiving you in a manner befitting the rank and traditions of the Talukdars of Oudh.

I regard a Durbar as an occasion of no ordinary significance ; not merely because of its picturesque and stately ceremonial, or of its harmony with the venerated traditions of an ancient polity, as because of the opportunity which it furnishes to a Viceroy to meet in becoming surroundings the leading men in the community, and to exchange with them those formal assurances which to my mind are invested with a much more than conventional courtesy, inasmuch as they are the real foundation-stones of the stable fabric of

Her Majesty's Indian Empire. Open speech and clear understanding between the Queen's representative and her trusted lieges are essential to the solidarity of a dominion which is built upon the co-operation of both ; and while I am honoured by holding my present office, I shall welcome, instead of shrinking from, any occasion for such an interchange of confidence and renewal of understanding. Indeed to me it seems that the times have passed by when rulers, or the deputies of rulers, can anywhere live with impunity amid the clouds of Olympus. They must descend from the hilltops and visit the haunts of men. They must speak to their fellows in their own tongue, and must be one in purpose and in heart with the people. Only so will they justify their high station ; only so will their authority be free from challenge, because it will be founded upon trust.

It was in such a spirit that Lord Canning came to Lucknow in October 1859, to obliterate the scars of the Mutiny, and to inaugurate the new régime of generous clemency and benefaction to which the Talukdars of Oudh owe their status and their rights. In this assemblage to-day there are doubtless some who remember that historic occasion, and call to mind the assurance of Lord Canning, that so long as the Talukdars remained loyal and faithful subjects and just masters, their rights and dignities should be upheld by every representative of the Queen, and that no man should disturb them. It was in pursuit and in confirmation of Lord Canning's policy that Sir John Lawrence came here in 1867, to acknowledge the liberal manner in which the Talukdars had met his efforts to mitigate certain hardships which had resulted from the arrangements of 1858. It was in a similar spirit that, in 1882, Lord Ripon received the Talukdars upon the very spot where Lord Canning had presented to them their charter twenty-three years before. And while it is on the same site, it is also, I assure you, in an identical spirit, that after a further lapse of seventeen years another Viccroy has come here to-day to renew to you the friendly assurances of the sovereign power, and to mark yet another stage in the history of the undisturbed and happy relations that subsist between the Talukdars and the British Government. It was not till I had ascertained from

inquiry that you yourselves were most anxious that this Durbar should be held, and that you recognised in it a compliment to your position as well as a confirmation of your privileges, that I arranged with Sir Antony MacDonnell¹ for the ceremony of this afternoon.

I am not one of those persons who would venture to claim that the policy of the British Government in India has always or everywhere been distinguished by consistency, or foresight, or wisdom. We have made many experiments, and we have perpetrated some failures. I am not sure that Oudh has not been the scene of some of these experiments, and perhaps also the witness of some of these failures. We have sometimes poured new wine very hastily into old bottles, and have been surprised if they have burst in our hands. But whatever the errors or miscalculations of British government in the past, we may, I think, claim with truth that we do not depart from our pledged word, and that British honour is still the basis, as it is the safeguard, of British administration. It was once said by the most brilliant writer who has yet devoted his genius to the illumination of Anglo-Indian history² that "English valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental Empire than English veracity." I agree with those words. Where the faith of Government has been pledged, there, even at loss to ourselves, at the sacrifice of our material interests, and sometimes even to our political detriment, we have, so far as my knowledge extends, uniformly held to our bond, and I hope shall continue to do so to the end. If ultimately we have profited by this conduct, no such considerations of expediency, believe me, have been our motive. We have pursued justice and truth, it may be sometimes with faltering steps, but for their own sake and for that alone.

Our relations with the Province of Oudh afford a not inapt illustration of steadfast adherence to this high standard of public honour. For forty years our policy towards Oudh has never deviated from the ideal which, when the Mutiny was over, was deliberately accepted and promulgated by

¹ Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh.

² Lord Macaulay.

Lord Canning, and at a later date was ratified by Sir John Lawrence, viz. that of maintaining the existence and privileges, guaranteed by binding engagements, of the landed aristocracy of this province. With this object have been devised the various measures of legislation that have from time to time been passed with reference to the Land Question in Oudh—the Oudh Estates Act of 1869, the Talukdars' Relief Act of 1870, the Oudh Rent Act of 1886. It is with the same object in view that your present Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Antony MacDonnell, has recently framed the Settled Estates Bill, which, with a patience worthy of the statesman, and with the anxious desire to consider every point of view, and to conciliate all reasonable opposition, that has uniformly characterised his public career, he has successfully guided through the earlier stages of its inception and introduction.

It is unfortunately but too true that some members at any rate of your body have fallen upon evil times, and that the pressure of financial embarrassment, due sometimes to extravagance and folly, but sometimes also to the force of circumstances beyond human control, has resulted in the increasing transfer and alienation—in other words, in the breaking up—of the estates which it has always been the desire of the British Government, equally with yourselves, to conserve. From these dangers, the unarrested progress of which would be fraught with mischief to the entire community, the Talukdars themselves petitioned the Government to find for them some relief; and it is in deference to this request that the Bill of which I speak has been drawn up and brought in.

It rests with yourselves whether, when this Bill has been passed into law, you take advantage of it or not. In deference to our engagements, in faithful execution of our pledged word, we cannot and we should not propose to dictate to you a curtailment of rights which, if acceptable to some, might be superfluous and obnoxious to others. We can but provide the means by which, without prejudice to the legitimate rights of creditors, those of you who desire to ensure the maintenance of their hereditary estates by direct settlement may be able to do so. If the Court of Wards

Bill, which has been introduced and passed by the Local Legislature with the same disinterested and conservative aim, be regarded by the Talukdars as the supplement of the Settled Estates Bill, to whose successful operation it should lend a great reinforcement of strength, I see no reason why you should not obtain speedy and permanent relief from the embarrassments of which you complain. But I repeat that, the Government having played their part, it is now for you to play yours, in the same temper of loyalty and good faith that has uniformly marked your relations with the Supreme Government since the present system began.

Everywhere throughout India I observe an increasing spirit of public activity, and an awakening to the conditions of modern life, which convince me that the conservatism of the most conservative of countries is not incompatible with a keen recognition of the necessities of an age of progress. The spread of railways, the increase of education, the diffusion of the Press, the construction of public works, the expansion of manufacturing and industrial undertakings, all of these bespeak, not the placid reveries of the recluse who is absorbed in abstract thought or in numb contemplation of the past, but the eager yearnings of a fresh and buoyant life. This spirit, as is natural, is most visible in the great centres of population, and in the districts which are traversed by main lines of rail. But it is also penetrating to unconsidered corners, and is slowly leavening the mighty mass. In this province, the natural richness of which has caused it to be designated the "garden of India," you have greatly profited by recent railway extensions, and you possess a railroad system which, running parallel in the main to the course of your great rivers, with frequent lateral connections, appears to be well adapted to the exploitation of your abundant resources. We hope, before any very long time has elapsed, to supply you with a further connecting link, in the shape of the Allahabad-Fyzabad line, with a bridge across the Ganges.¹ This important link, together with shorter communication with Lucknow, should be of great benefit to the province.

¹ The line and bridge were opened in the month after Lord Curzon left India in 1905.

The name of Lord Canning, to whom you owe so much, is perpetuated in the title of the College which exists in this city. It is not an unfitting tribute to his memory that the Talukdars should have lent so consistent a support to the Canning College since its institution thirty-five years ago ; and I am glad also to be informed that you take an equal interest in the Colvin Institute, specially designed as it was for the education of your sons. While you thus show that you are not indifferent to the claims of higher education, to which we owe in so large a measure the development of that growing energy and vitality of which I have already spoken, pray remember that among your tenants in the country villages and districts are many to whom higher education will never be anything more than a riddle, but to whom you owe it that their elementary education shall be something more than a name. In the ingenious glosses and paraphrases to which a Viceroy's utterances in India are not infrequently exposed, he is apt to find that praise of one thing is interpreted as involving unconscious disparagement of another. When I praise you, therefore, for your support of the higher education of your sons and families, I must not be understood to deprecate the claims of primary education among the masses of the people ; and when I invite your attention to the great importance of the latter subject, I must not be supposed to be offering an affront to the former. Only, in proportion as the peasant population is poor and backward and helpless, so is the responsibility greater that is devolved upon their superiors to furnish them with the rudimentary means by which they may raise themselves in the world.

In Oudh may be observed a happy reproduction of a system with which we are very familiar in England, where the traditions and the spirit of territorial responsibility, resulting from the growth of centuries, are exceptionally strong. There we find the country gentleman sitting in gratuitous and voluntary discharge of the administration of justice among his neighbours, to their complete satisfaction, and with no small advantage, in the shape of increased knowledge and power of good, to himself. I am glad to think that this graft from an English stock, which after all

is only an adaptation in Western forms of a custom familiar in the East, has found so congenial a climate in the Province of Oudh ; and I should like to tender my thanks to those native gentlemen who have thus assisted Government by acting as Honorary Magistrates. Every case which by a simple and straightforward decision they succeed in keeping out of the Law Courts involves, in my judgment, not merely a saving of expense, friction, and heart-burning to the parties concerned, but also a positive service to the community.

Finally, let me say with what satisfaction I have met to-day in this great assemblage and have had presented to me a number of chiefs, some of them the sons or grandsons of those who stood by us in the great hour of trial forty-two years ago, some of them—a dwindling number—the still surviving actors in those solemn and immortal scenes. I have noticed upon the breasts of others here present—a seamed and gallant band—the medals that tell me of participation in the defence of the Residency, of lives risked and of blood shed in the cause of the British Government, with which was indissolubly bound up, in the agony of that fateful struggle, the cause of order as against anarchy, of civilisation as against chaos. Standing here at this distance of time, I, who am of a later generation, and was not even born when these brave men performed the deeds at which the whole world has since gazed with admiring awe, count it as among my highest privileges that I should see the faces, and, as Her Majesty's representative, receive the homage of these illustrious veterans. Still prouder and more inspiring is the thought that in this great Durbar, where are gathered in loyal harmony with our old allies the descendants of some who took another part, I may read the lesson of the Great Reconciliation, and may point the eternal moral that mercy is more powerful than vengeance.

ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY

In November 1900 Lord Curzon visited Bombay for the third time during his administration, and on the 9th drove in State to the Town Hall, where he was presented with a special Address of welcome from the Municipal Corporation. The Address referred to the manner in which the Viceroy had redeemed the pledges which he had given when first assuming office, and said that in the short period of two years he had "won their hearts, captured the imaginations, and extorted the respect and admiration of the whole country." The Viceroy replied as follows:—

When I landed at the Apollo Bunder in December 1898, I little thought that, within less than two years' time, I should twice again visit this great city. Still less could I have anticipated that, within so short a period of my assuming office, I should be deemed worthy of the honour of such a ceremony as that of this morning. It is, as you know, the trials and the sufferings through which Bombay has been passing that have brought me back into this Presidency upon the two occasions to which I have referred. It is your gracious recognition of the motive that actuated these visits—a recognition very characteristic of the warm-hearted Indian people—that has brought me to this Town Hall to-day, and has made me the recipient of the exquisite and sumptuous gift in which the Address that has just been read from the Bombay Corporation will henceforward be enclosed.

You have said with truth in this Address that the troubles by which India in general, and this Presidency perhaps more particularly, have been afflicted, have gone on increasing and multiplying during the past two years. Lord Elgin thought that he had coped with the worst famine of the century: we have now gone through a worse. It was hoped that plague would soon be extirpated from your midst; but it has grown into an annual visitor, whom, in spite of all our efforts, we can neither altogether elude nor defeat. True, there is one calamity which we have been fortunate enough to escape during our time of trial, and that is warfare in our own territory or upon our frontiers. Indeed, the most striking

incident in recent Indian history, the most conclusive testimony to the loyalty of her princes and people, and the most absolute demonstration of the reality of the peace that we have enjoyed, is the fact that we have spared between 20,000 and 30,000 soldiers from the Indian Army for the wars being waged elsewhere by the forces of the Queen, and have thus not unhandsomely borne our share in that great outburst of Imperial sentiment that has marked the disappearance of the old century and the opening of the new.

You have been good enough to speak in terms of praise of the manner in which we have met our misfortunes. I do not take this praise to myself. For instance, in our struggle with plague and famine, the Captain can do little but frame his orders, see closely to their execution, keep an eye upon every part of the field, and encourage his men. When, therefore, I see or hear the head of the Government praised for the efficiency or liberality of the measures that have been taken, or given the credit for their success, I feel almost a sense of shame. For I think of all the accumulated advice and experience that have been freely placed at his disposal by those who know so much more than he ; and I remember the brave men who, with no reward to hope for, and no public applause to urge them on, have, for month after month, whether in the scorching heat, or through the soaking rains, spent of their energy and life-blood and strength in fighting the real battle, wherever the enemy threatened or the worst danger lay. Theirs is the true credit ; and it is only on their behalf, and as their official head, that I can accept with contentment what I could not, without injustice, appropriate to myself.

You have also spoken of the impartial administration of justice, not so much in the Law Courts, since they are independent of official control, as in the exercise of executive and administrative authority, as having been the guiding principle which I have borne in view. It is true that I have tried never to lose sight of the motto, which I set before myself when I landed here, namely, to hold the scales even.¹ Experience has shown me that it is not always an easy task ;

¹ *Vide pp. 15 and 574.*

but experience has also convinced me that it is always the right one. If a man is to succeed in carrying it out, he must expect sometimes to be abused, and frequently to be misunderstood. By one party he will be suspected of disloyalty to the rights of his countrymen ; by the other, of imperfect sympathy with its aspirations or its aims. Everyone appreciates the advantages of an umpire. But there are always some players of the game who think that the main duty of that functionary is to give their own side in. I sometimes note symptoms of this tendency in India. One side interprets an act of justice as a concession to clamour ; the other laments that it does not straight away secure all the articles of an impossible charter.¹ These little drawbacks may sometimes worry and sometimes impede ; but they do not for one moment affect the conviction with which I started two years ago, and which I now hold, if possible, more strongly still, that it is by native confidence in British justice that the loyalty of the Indian peoples is assured. Any man who, either by force or by fraud, shakes that confidence, is dealing a blow at British dominion in India. If to justice we can add that form of mercy which is best expressed by the word consideration, and which is capable of showing itself in almost every act and incident of life, we have, I think, a key that will open most Indian hearts. A century ago there was a very intelligent and observant French priest, the Abbé Dubois, who spent thirty years of his life in India, and who wrote a most admirable book upon the manners and customs and feelings of the people.² I quote him because, as a foreigner and a Catholic missionary, he could not be suspected of any undue partiality to the British Government, and because as a Frenchman, with the memory of the French dominion in India, of which the British arms had only recently robbed his countrymen, fresh in his mind, he could hardly be expected to bless the conquerors. This was what he wrote :—"The justice and prudence which the present rulers display in endeavouring to make these people

¹ The extreme native Press persisted in seeing in this remark an allusion to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. The remark was general, and no such idea entered the mind of the speaker.

² *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies.* Translated by H. K. Beau-champ. 2 vols., 1897.

less unhappy than they have hitherto been ; the anxiety which they manifest in increasing their material comfort ; above all, the inviolable respect which they constantly show for the customs and religious beliefs of the country ; and, lastly, the protection which they afford to the weak as well as to the strong—all these have contributed more to the consolidation of their power than even their victories and conquests." Gentlemen, the era of victories and conquests is now over, but the other and more abiding source of strength remains ; and an English Viceroy may safely repeat at the dawn of the twentieth century what the French Abbé said at the opening of the nineteenth as to the character and motives of British rule in this country.

I was asked the other day whether, after two years' Indian experience, I had at all changed the views to which I have often given expression regarding the importance of the part that is played by India in the structure of the British Empire. My answer was that they have not been changed, but confirmed. In the writings of a political philosopher I recently came across the astounding utterance that "there is more true greatness within a two miles' radius of the British Museum than in the whole of Asia." In my judgment this was a very arrogant and a very foolish remark. It is a proposition to which history is every day giving the lie. It is the Eastern and not the Western problems that continue to agitate the world, and Asia has still to be disposed of before the intellect of the West can exclusively concentrate itself upon Western concerns. The past year has, moreover, been one which has conspicuously demonstrated the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. It was the prompt despatch of a contingent of the Indian Army a year ago that saved the Colony of Natal. They were Indian regiments who accomplished the rescue of the Legations at Peking. We have rendered this service to the Empire in a year when we have been distracted by famine and plague, and weighed down by our own troubles. If our arm reaches as far as China in the East, and South Africa in the West, who can doubt the range of our influence, or the share of India in Imperial destinies ?

I have also been asked, since I came to India, whether I

was at all disillusioned with my work, and whether my love for the country had at all diminished. Again my answer has been in the negative. The work to be done seems to me just as important; the opportunities for doing it to be even more numerous. More than a century ago the orator Burke remarked that the British Empire in India was an awful thing. He had not seen it; he had only studied it from a distance of 10,000 miles; and the Empire of which he spoke was but a fraction of that which now acknowledges the sway of the British Crown. If it was awful a hundred years ago, what is it now? Is not the custody of the lives and fortunes of 300 millions of human beings—between one-fourth and one-fifth of the entire human race—a responsibility that might daunt the boldest energy and sober the flightiest imagination? Moreover, they are not members of one race, or even of a few races, but of a swarm of races. As I go about on tour and see the people in the streets, the difference to the outward eye is enormous. A street crowd in Lahore does not present the smallest resemblance to one in Bombay. Bombay is utterly unlike Calcutta. And what is this external difference compared with that within, the difference of feature compared with that of character and creed? And again, what are any of these differences compared with those that separate the huge Indian majority from the microscopic British minority to whom their rule has been committed? These are the commonplace everyday reflections that are borne in upon me every hour that I spend in this country. How can a man be anything but absorbed, anything but enthusiastic, about such a work? Every day some fresh thing seems to require doing, some new subject demands to be taken up. There is, I know, a school who say, "Leave well alone. You are in the unchanging East. Don't worry yourself unduly about reform. No one ever wanted to be reformed in Asia." Gentlemen, do you remember the answer of the economist Turgot, in the reign of Louis XVI. of France? He was always pushing fresh reforms. Perhaps if he had pushed even more, there would have been no French Revolution. When his friends came to him and said that he was going ahead too quickly, he replied, "You forget that in my family we do not live

beyond fifty." If this was the defence of the French statesman, may not a Viceroy of India reply to a similar charge, "You forget that I only have five years—five years within which to affect the movement, or to influence the outturn, of this mighty machine"? For such a task every year seems a minute, every minute a second,—one might almost say that there is hardly time to begin.

There is one respect in which it has been my constant endeavour to infuse an element of the modern spirit into Indian administration. I can see no reason why, in India as elsewhere, the official hierarchy should not benefit by public opinion. Official wisdom is not so transcendent as to be superior to this form of stimulus and guidance. Indeed, my inclination where Government is attacked is not to assume that the critic must inevitably be wrong, but that it is quite conceivable that he may be right. In any case, I inquire. Of course, it is easy to disparage public opinion in a continent like India ; to say that it is either the opinion of the merchants, or the Civil Service, or the Army, or of amateurs in general ; or, if it be native public opinion, that it only represents the views of the infinitesimal fraction who are educated. No doubt this is true. But all these are the various sections upon whose intelligent co-operation the Government depends. To the masses we can give little more than security and material comfort in their humble lives. They have not reached a pitch of development at which they can lend us anything more than a passive support. But the opinion of the educated classes is one that it is not statesmanship to ignore or to despise. I do not say that one should always defer to it. If a ruler of India were to adopt all the wild suggestions that are made to him by the various organs of public opinion, he would bring the fabric of Indian Government toppling down in a month. Neither must he carry deference to the pitch of subordination ; for I can conceive nothing more unfortunate, or more calamitous, than that Government should abrogate one jot or tittle of its own responsibility. A benevolent despotism that yielded to agitation would find that, in sacrificing its despotism, it had also lost its benevolence. All these are truisms which no one will

dispute. But there remain a multitude of ways in which Government may endeavour, and in my opinion should endeavour, to enlist public opinion upon its side. It can hearken to both sides of a case ; it can take the public into its confidence by explaining what to the official mind seems simple enough, but to the outside public may appear quite obscure ; in framing its legislation it can profit by external advice, instead of relying solely upon the *arcana* of official wisdom. It can look sympathetically into grievances instead of arbitrarily snuffing them out. These, at any rate, are the principles upon which I have tried, during the past two years, to conduct the administration of India, and they seem to have been so far successful as to win approval at your hands.

Let me add, in conclusion, that it is in the power of public opinion in this country to repay the compliment. It can very materially strengthen the hands, and lighten the task, of the head of the Government. If he is so fortunate as to possess its support, there are many things which he can undertake which otherwise he would be tempted to leave on one side. A Prime Minister in England is strong in proportion to the Parliamentary strength of his party. A Member of Parliament is strong in his constituency in proportion to the size of his majority. In this country, if the analogy may be pursued, all India are the constituents of the Viceroy, and his strength is proportionate to their confidence. I gladly welcome this opportunity of conveying my thanks to those who have so ungrudgingly given me their trust during the short time that I have held my present post ; and I hope that it may be continued to me, easing my burden and invigorating my spirits, until the end.

PRESENTATION OF FREEDOM OF CITY OF LONDON

On July 20, 1904, Lord Curzon, while in England during the interval between his first and second terms of office, was presented with the Freedom of the City of London in the Guildhall. In reply to the address of the City Chamberlain, Sir Joseph Dimsdale, he spoke as follows :—

Let me begin by thanking the Chamberlain very warmly for his kind reference to Lady Curzon. Though, as he remarked, not officially present here to-day, she is yet in this hall to hear the courteous things that he said about her, and with which, in regard to the assistance she has rendered to me and to the work that she has done in India, I venture cordially to associate myself.

My Lord Mayor, I do not suppose that there is any honour which a public man can value more highly than the Freedom of the City of London. No fee can purchase it, no conqueror can claim it as his own ; it is the free gift of the corporation of the greatest city in the world, and it has the added dignity of the associations that accompany it, and the memory of the illustrious names with which each fresh recipient is proud to find his own enrolled. But the honour seems to me to carry an especial grace when it is conferred upon those servants of the Crown who have been serving their country in distant parts, for it shows them that in their absence they have not been altogether forgotten, and that those of you who are at the heart of the Empire are not indifferent to what is passing on the outskirts.

By a law which was designed for different times, and which, in my opinion, is now obsolete, no Viceroy of India can leave India for England, whatever the urgency, public or private, without vacating his office ;¹ and so it is that

¹ 33 Geo. III. c. 52, § 37, repeated in 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, § 73. Under these Acts neither the Governor-General, nor the Commander-in-Chief, nor the Governors of Madras and Bombay, can "depart from India with intent to return to Europe" without thereby vacating his office. It was because of this provision of the law that Lord Curzon ceased to be Viceroy during the interval between his first and second terms of office, Lord Ampthill, as the senior in

a man may be absent, as I have been, from his country for an unbroken period of five and a half years without sight or sound of home. During his long exile the weight and isolation of his great post tell heavily upon him. Fatigue of body and spirit often press him down; the volume of work that he has to discharge is such as no man who has not undertaken it can well imagine. You may judge, therefore, what a reward—I had almost said, what a tonic to body and soul—is such a reception as this to such a man; how his heart warms within him at the sympathetic recognition of his countrymen, and how fresh courage and spirit are infused into him to go forth again and renew his task.

My Lord Mayor, the City Chamberlain in his speech has drawn an appreciative and flattering picture of some of the aspects of the administration with which I have been concerned. If I detected in some of his remarks the too generous partiality of one old Etonian for another, I am yet conscious of the service that he has rendered to India by inviting the attention of this representative assemblage to some features in our recent administration.

May I also take advantage of the present opportunity to say a few words to my countrymen about that great charge,—the greatest that is anywhere borne by the English people,—nay, more, in my judgment the most onerous and the most impressive that has ever rested upon the shoulders of a conquering and civilised race? I sometimes think that the most remarkable thing about British rule in India is the general ignorance that prevails about it in England. Seventy years ago Lord Macaulay said, in his speech about the Government of India, that a broken head in Coldbath Fields produced a greater sensation amongst us than three pitched battles in India. Twenty years later Lord Dalhousie, that celebrated proconsul, wrote that nothing short of a great victory or a great defeat in India was sufficient to

standing of the two Presidency Governors, being appointed under the Act of 1861 (24 and 25 Vict. c. 67, §§ 50-51) to officiate during his absence. Lord Curzon was himself of opinion that the earlier law, by which leave of any kind is denied to the above-named high officials alone of all the public servants of the Empire, ought to be repealed. But His Majesty's Government have never so far consented to the proposal.

create in English society even a transient interest in Indian affairs. If these are the tests of English interest in India, then, my Lords, any such service as it may have been in my power to render must be, indeed, unknown. But I think that things have somewhat advanced since those days. Communications have greatly improved between the two countries; postal and telegraphic charges have been cheapened; more cold-weather visitors come out to us in India every year; and there is always an intelligent minority of persons here who follow, with the utmost interest, everything that goes on there. Yet, in its main essentials, the indictment still remains true, and you have only to look at the morning newspapers, with rare exceptions—and there are exceptions; for instance, I was delighted to see, only a day or two ago, that the *Times* has announced its intention of recommencing the series of periodical articles upon India which those of us who are interested in that country used to read with so much delight in bygone days—I say you have only to look at the newspapers to see that, with rare exceptions, the average Englishman is much more concerned in the latest football or cricket match, in a motor trial, or a wrestling encounter, than he is in the greatest responsibility that has been undertaken by his fellow-countrymen on the face of the earth. Even if he looks abroad he sees more and hears more about the 11,000,000 who inhabit the Colonies than he does about the 300,000,000 who inhabit India. In the happiness of our insular detachment, or in the pride of racial expansion, he forgets that the greatest constituent of the Empire in scale and in importance lies neither in these islands, nor in the Colonies, but in our Asiatic dependency. It is true that for this ignorance and want of proportion on his part there is abundant excuse. Here are our own people; this is the hearthstone of the Empire and the nursery of the race; these islands must always be our first concern; even the Colonies are, in a sense, only one stage more distant, because they are peopled by our own kith and kin. India, on the other hand, is very remote and very unintelligible, and the average Englishman, if only he hears nothing about it from day to day, is apt to think that matters must be going on sufficiently well.

My Lords and gentlemen, I have always ventured to hold a different idea about British rule in India. To me it is the greatest thing that the English people have done, or are doing now; it is the highest touchstone of national duty. If the nations of the earth were to stand up to be judged by some supreme tribunal, I think that upon our European record, or upon our colonial record, we should survive the test. But if there were the slightest hesitation on the part of the judge or jury I would confidently throw our Indian record into the scales. For where else in the world has a race gone forth and subdued, not a country or a kingdom, but a continent, and that continent peopled, not by savage tribes, but by races with traditions and a civilisation older than our own, with a history not inferior to ours in dignity or romance; subduing them not to the law of the sword, but to the rule of justice, bringing peace and order and good government to nearly one-fifth of the entire human race, and holding them with so mild a restraint that the rulers are the merest handful amongst the ruled, a tiny speck of white foam upon a dark and thunderous ocean? I hope I am no rhapsodist, but I say that I would as soon be a citizen of the country that has wrought this deed as I would be of the country that defeated the Armada or produced Hampden and Pitt.

But we all live in a severely practical age, and I can afford to be rather more concrete in my illustrations. I should like to convey to this audience some idea of the part that India is capable of playing, nay, of the part that it has recently played, in the Imperial burden. As I say, my illustrations shall be drawn from recent history and from my own experience. Two of them have been mentioned by the City Chamberlain in his speech. If you want to save your Colony of Natal from being overrun by a formidable enemy, you ask India for help, and she gives it; if you want to rescue the white men's legations from massacre at Peking, and the need is urgent, you request the Government of India to despatch an expedition, and they despatch it; if you are fighting the Mad Mullah in Somaliland, you soon discover that Indian troops and an Indian general are best qualified for the task, and you ask the Government of India

to send them ; if you desire to defend any of your extreme outposts or coaling stations of the Empire, Aden, Mauritius, Singapore, Hong-kong, even Tien-tsin or Shan-hai-kwan, it is to the Indian Army that you turn ; if you want to build a railway to Uganda or in the Soudan, you apply for Indian labour. When the late Mr. Rhodes was engaged in developing your recent acquisition of Rhodesia, he came to me for assistance. It is with Indian coolie labour that you exploit the plantations equally of Demerara and Natal ; with Indian trained officers that you irrigate Egypt and dam the Nile ; with Indian forest officers that you tap the resources of Central Africa and Siam ; with Indian surveyors that you explore all the hidden places of the earth.

Speaking before an audience such as this, I should wish, if I had time, my Lord Mayor, also to demonstrate that, in my opinion, India is a country where there will be much larger openings for the investment of capital in the future than has hitherto been the case, and where a great work of industrial and commercial exploitation lies before us.

Then, again, how familiar we are in recent times with the argument that India is the vulnerable point of the Empire. And assuredly it is true that if we were engaged in a great international war—which God forbid—it is not at Dover or London that one, at any rate, of your possible antagonists would strike. He would not bombard Quebec or land a force in Sydney Harbour. It is in Asia that the pressure would be applied ; it is your Indian frontier that would bear the brunt. It is there or thereabouts, in all probability, that the future of your dominion might be decided.

There is an old proverb which says, “ He that England fain would win, must with Ireland first begin.” I have always thought that this was rather a dubious compliment to our brothers across St. George’s Channel, but I suppose it alludes to the times when the foreign enemy who had aggressive intentions upon us used to begin his invasion in that quarter. At all events, if you were now to substitute “ India ” for “ Ireland ” in the refrain, I do not think you would be so very far from the mark. I hope I have said enough, therefore, my Lords and gentlemen, to show you that you cannot afford to leave India out of your calcula-

tions. She is as important to you as you are beneficial to her. In the world-politics of the future believe me that India will play an increasing part, and a time will come when in our reformed Board Schools the average English boy will require to know more about India than he does now, will require to know as much about India as he now does about Marathon or Waterloo.

I grant, my Lord Mayor, that the features of government in the two countries are very different ; and perhaps this is the main cause of the ignorance and misconception to which I have referred. We have in India a good many of the problems that you have here, but they are magnified almost beyond recognition by the complexity of the factors and the immensity of the scale. We also have our own problems, to which, in the tranquil uniformity of life in these islands, you are fortunately strangers. You have not the perpetual and harassing anxiety of a land frontier 5700 miles in length, peopled by hundreds of different tribes, most of them inured to religious fanaticism and hereditary rapine. A single outbreak at a single point may set entire sections of that frontier ablaze. Then, beyond it, we are brought into direct contact with the picturesque but perilous debility of independent, or quasi-independent, Asiatic States, some of them incurably diseased, and hastening to their fall ; and behind them, again, are the muffled figures of great European Powers, advancing nearer and nearer, and sometimes finding in these conditions temptations to action that is not in strict accordance with the interests which we are bound to defend. That, my Lord Mayor, is the external problem of India.

Then, if we look within, whereas you in England have a population that is relatively homogeneous, we have to deal in India with races that are as different from each other as the Esquimaux is from the Spaniard or the Irishman from the Turk, with creeds that range between the extreme points of the basest animalism on the one hand and the most exalted metaphysics on the other, and with standards of life that cover the whole space between barbarism and civilisation. You have here an aristocracy that is drawn from the people, and that goes back to it. Our aristocracy in India

consists of native Chiefs of diverse races, many of them as much aliens to the people as we are ourselves, presenting every variety of status and privilege, from the magnificent potentates that you sometimes see in this country to the pettiest landed proprietor.

You hardly know here what the phrase "land revenue" means. In India it is the be-all and end-all of millions of the population, and it is the mainspring of our internal administration. In England your railways are built, managed, and financed by private enterprise ; in India they are one of the chief charges of Government. I remember that it fell to me, as Viceroy, to issue orders, on my own responsibility, for the better accommodation of native passengers in third-class carriages. Here, in England, your education problem, as any Parliamentarian present will bear me out, is thorny enough ; but it is as nothing compared with ours in India, where we are trying to graft the science of the West on to an Eastern stem ; where we have to deal with religious differences compared with which all your sectarian animosities sink into the shade ; where we have a chaos of languages, and stages of mental organisation that extend, as I have remarked, from the transcendentalist to the savage.

Then, here in England, you do not know what famine is. My Lord Mayor, I thank the Chamberlain for the remarks that he made on that subject in his address. It is quite true that I had to administer in India the greatest famine that has befallen that country in modern times within the range to which it applied, and I can assure you that it is an experience that would wring blood from stone. You have your sunshine and storms, your drought and floods, in this country, but you do not know the awful possibilities that are summed up in the single word "monsoon," and which spell the difference in India between life and death to areas in any one of which the whole of the United Kingdom might be swallowed up. You have your suffering and destitution, but you have not such an appalling visitor as the plague—the plague, now in its seventh year in India, defying analysis, defeating the utmost efforts of medical skill and administrative energy, inscrutable in its origin, merciless in its ravages, sweeping off, as our records show, very often

thousands in a day and tens of thousands in a week. Then, above all, your public men in England have not before them the haunting question that is always before us in India, like a riddle of the Sphinx—what is in the heart of all those sombre millions, whither are we leading them, what is it all to come to, where is the goal?

Such, my Lord Mayor, are some of the superficial differences between the problem of government in India and in England. They are, I think, sufficient to show you that those who are charged with the government of that great dependency can seldom have a careless moment or an idle hour. They are weighed down with incessant anxiety, with an almost overpowering responsibility, and with unending toil. But I can assure you that every one of them, from the Governor-General down to the youngest civilian, is proud of the duty, and resolved to do justice to it; and when the commander is called up and praised, a thrill runs down the ranks, and encourages the latest joined private in the lines.

Sir Joseph Dimsdale said something about the character of the work in which we have been engaged during the past five years. My Lord Mayor, it has been a work of reform and reconstruction. Epochs arise in the history of every country when the administrative machinery requires to be taken to pieces and overhauled, and readjusted to the altered necessities or the growing demands of the hour. The engines are not working to their scheduled capacity, the engineers are perhaps slack or overborne. I agree with those who inscribe on their administrative banners the motto "Efficiency." But my conception of efficiency is to practise as well as to preach it. It is with this object that we have conducted an inquiry in India into every aspect of the administration. First we began with the departments themselves, the offices of Government, revising the conditions under which they work, freeing them from the impediments of excessive writing, with its consequences of strangulation of all initiative and dilatoriness in action. Then we proceeded to investigate every branch of the Government in turn. We endeavoured to frame a plague policy which should not do violence to the instincts and sentiments of the native population in a famine

policy which should profit by the experience of the past and put us in a position to cope with the next visitation when unhappily it bursts upon us; an education policy which should free the intellectual activities of the Indian people, so keen and restless as they are, from the paralysing clutch of examinations; a railway policy that will provide administratively and financially for the great extension that we believe to lie before us; an irrigation policy that will utilise to the maximum, whether remuneratively or unremuneratively, all the available water resources of India, not merely in canals,—I almost think we have reached the end there,—but in tanks and reservoirs and wells; a police policy that will raise the standard of the only emblem of authority that the majority of the people see, and will free them from petty diurnal tyranny and oppression. It is impossible to satisfy all classes in India or anywhere else. There are some people who clamour for boons which it is impossible to give. But the administrator looks rather to the silent and inarticulate masses, and if he can raise, even by a little, the level of material comfort and well-being in their lives, he has earned his reward.

I am glad that our finances in India have placed us in a position to give the people the first reduction of taxation that they have enjoyed for twenty years. We have endeavoured to render the land revenue more equitable in its incidence, to lift the load of usury from the shoulders of the peasant, and to check that reckless alienation of the soil which in many parts of the country was fast converting him from a free proprietor to a bond slave. We have done our best to encourage industries which little by little will relieve the congested field of agriculture, develop the indigenous resources of India, and make that country more and more self-providing in the future. I would not indulge in any boast, but I dare to think that as the result of these efforts I can point to an India that is more prosperous, more contented, and more hopeful. Wealth is increasing in India. There is no test you can apply which does not demonstrate it. Trade is growing. Evidences of progress and prosperity are multiplying on every side. Six years ago, just before I left England, a committee of experts was sitting in

London to provide us in India with that which is the first condition of economic advance—that is, a sound currency policy. I thank Sir Henry Fowler, the chairman of that committee, and the authorities co-operating with him, for the great service that they rendered to India. Profiting by their labours, we have introduced there a gold standard and established fixity of exchange, and we seem to have put an end to the fitful and demoralising vagaries of the silver rupee.

But I think I can point to more satisfactory symptoms still. I believe there to be a steady and growing advance in the loyalty of the Indian people. When the late Queen Victoria died there was an outburst of sorrow throughout India almost equal to anything that you could see here in England. A little later, when the present King succeeded and we celebrated his Coronation at Delhi, there was a similar display of national feeling, not at Delhi alone, but in every village and hamlet throughout that vast continent. I know it has been the fashion in some quarters to deride that great ceremony at Delhi as a vain and unprofitable display. My Lord Mayor, if we spent about as much, and I do not think we spent more, in crowning the Emperor of 300,000,000 as you spent here in crowning the King of 42,000,000, I do not consider that we need reproach ourselves very much for our extravagance. But we did much more than that. Already the people of India knew and revered the Prince of Wales, because they had seen him. We brought home to them at Delhi that that Prince was now their ruler, and that in his rule were their security and salvation. We touched their hearts with the idea of a common sentiment and a common aim. Depend upon it, you will never rule the East except through the heart, and the moment imagination has gone out of your Asiatic policy your Empire will dwindle and decay.

There is another respect in which India has been advancing by leaps and bounds, and on which I should like to say a brief word. In the point to which I am about to refer I doubt if modern India would be recognised by those who knew it a generation ago. The British public knows that between one-fourth and one-fifth of the popula-

tion there is under the rule of native Princes and Chiefs, though subject, of course, in all essentials to the British Power. There are many hundreds of these Chiefs all included, but the most important of them number less than one hundred. In this country you know all about their ancient lineage, their costumes and courts, their liberality and loyalty to the Crown. But it has been too much the fashion here to regard them as so many picturesque excrescences from the dull uniformity of Indian life, to look upon them as survivals of an obsolete era, without any practical utility, and sometimes sunk in selfishness and lethargy. My Lords, that is not my idea of the Indian Princes. I have always been a devoted believer in the continued existence of the Native States in India and an ardent well-wisher of the native Princes. But I believe in them not as relics, but as rulers; not as puppets, but as living factors in the administration. I want them to share the responsibilities as well as the glories of British rule. Therefore it is that I have ventured to preach to them the gospel of duty, of common service in the interests of the Empire, of a high and strenuous aim. But you cannot expect them to attain these standards unless you give them an adequate education; and accordingly, in consultation with them, we have revised the entire curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges in India, which have been set up for their instruction. And if you thus train and educate them you must give them an object and a career. It is for this reason that, by permission of His Majesty the King, I founded the institution known as the Imperial Cadet Corps, where we give military education to the pick of the Indian aristocracy, and which will eventuate as time goes on in the bestowal for the first time of commissions as British officers upon Indian chiefs, nobles, and gentlemen. This is a policy of trust, but I am confident that it will be repaid, for already the Princes of India are giving to our efforts the reply that might be expected of their nobility of character and their high traditions. They are coming forward in response to our appeals. They welcome and do not resent these changes, and we are gradually, nay, I think we are quickly, creating there the spectacle of a throne supported

by feudatories who not only render military service,—they do that without stint,—but who also vie with it in administrative energy and devotion to the welfare of their people.

My Lords and gentlemen, I ought not to conclude these remarks without saying a word about another and a wider aspect of our policy—the problem of Frontier Defence. It is not necessary for me to sing the praises of the Indian Army. The Indian Army has written its name on the map, not only of India, but of the British Empire. It is writing it in the windy passes of Tibet at this moment. Army reform is very much in the air, and I can assure you that in India we are not free from the contagion. We are doing our best there in respect of equipment, organisation, and armament, in readiness to mobilise, and in facilities of communication, to carry out the lessons of the most recent science and the most recent experience. And since, as we have been told, you have banished our modern Hercules to the Himalayas, we are not letting him rest, but are utilising him in the execution of labours every whit as important as any on which he might be engaged here.

We have had a period of almost unbroken peace for six years on that stormy frontier of India which looks towards the North-West and Afghanistan. And I think the reason is this—that, abandoning old and stale controversies, we have hit upon a policy in India that is both forward and backward—forward in so far as we hold up to our treaty frontier, neither minimising nor shirking our obligations; backward in so far as we do not court a policy of expansion or adventure, but depend rather on a policy of co-operation and conciliation than one of coercion or subjugation of the tribes. I do not prophesy about the future. No man who has read a page of Indian history will ever prophesy about the frontier. We shall doubtless have trouble there again. Turbulence and fanaticism ferment in the blood of those races. But we have given you peace for a longer period than you have enjoyed at any time during the last thirty years, and I believe that slowly and surely we are building up the fabric of local security and contentment on the border.

But I am not sure that some student of public affairs

will not interpolate at this moment the question—What, then, are you doing in Tibet, and how do you reconcile this with the policy of peace and conciliation that you have described? My Lord Mayor, the instruments of Government often cannot speak their own minds, and my lips are tied by obligations which you will be the first to recognise. At the same time, as the recent head of the Government of India, I may perhaps say this. Though we shrink in India from expeditions, and though we abominate a policy of adventure, we had not the slightest hesitation or doubt in recommending the policy that we did to His Majesty's Government. We felt that we could not afford any longer, with due regard to our interests and prestige on that section of the frontier, to acquiesce in a policy of unprovoked insults, endured with almost unexampled patience, at the hands of the Tibetan Government ever since they, and not we—please remember this, ever since they, and not we—assumed the aggressive, and first invaded British territory eighteen years ago. And still less could we acquiesce in this treatment at the very time when the young and perverse ruler of Tibet, who it seems to me has shown himself to be the evil genius of his people, while refusing to hold any communication with us, or even to receive letters from the representative of the British Sovereign, was conducting communications with another great Power, situated not at his doors, but at a great distance away, and was courting its protection. I was sent to India, amongst other objects, to guard the frontier of India, and I have done it. I was not sent there to let a hostile danger and menace grow up just beyond our gates, and I have done my best to prevent it. There are people so full of knowledge at home that they assure us that all these fears were illusory, and that we could with dignity and prudence have gone on turning our other cheek to the Tibetan smiter. These fears were not illusory. The danger was imminent and real. Perhaps the frontier States may be taken to know something about it, and if we have, as we have never had before, the frontier States of Nepal and Sikkim and Bhutan, the majority of them allied by religious and racial affinities to Tibet, all supporting our action and deplored

the folly and obstinacy of the Tibetan Government, there must be strong *prima facie* ground that we are not entirely mistaken in our views. No one regrets more than myself the fighting with innocent people or the slaughter of ill-armed but courageous men. I should have liked to carry the matter through without firing a shot, and we did our best to do so. Months were spent in the sincere but futile effort to avoid a conflict. But only the meanest knowledge of the frontier is required to know that it is not vacillation that produces respect, and that the longer you hesitate and palter the severer is the reckoning you have to pay. I hope that as a result of these operations we shall be able to introduce some measure of enlightenment into that miserable and monk-ridden country, and without adding to our own responsibilities, which the Government of India are without the least wish to extend, that we shall be able to ward off a source of political unrest and intrigue on this section of our border, and gradually to build up, as I believe it to be in our power to do, harmonious relations between the harmless people of Tibet and ourselves.

My Lords and gentlemen, these have been the main incidents of the policy of the Government in India during the last six years. There is only one other feature of the situation to which I wish to allude, if you will bear with me, because it is in one sense the most important of all. I have been speaking to-day about the acts and symptoms of British rule in India. What is its basis? It is not military force, it is not civil authority, it is not prestige, though all these are part of it. If our rule is to last in India it must rest on a more solid basis. It must depend on the eternal moralities of righteousness and justice. This, I can assure you, is no mere phrase of the conventicle. The matter is too serious on the lips of a Governor-General of India for cant. Unless we can persuade the millions of India that we will give to them absolute justice as between man and man, equality before the law, freedom from tyranny and injustice and oppression, then our Empire will not touch their hearts and will fade away. No one is more ready to admit than I that if you put side by side the rulers of a European race and the ruled of an Asiatic, and particularly

such races as the Indian and the English, where you have a small minority face to face with a vast alien conglomeration, you cannot expect to have complete coalescence. On the one side you have pride of race, the duty of self-protection, the consciousness of power ; on the other you have struggling sentiments and stifled aspirations. But, my Lord Mayor, a bridge must be built between the two, and on that bridge justice must stand with unerring scales. Harshness, oppression, ill-usage, all these in India are offences, not only against the higher law, but against the honour and reputation of the ruling race. I am as strong a believer as any man in the prestige of my countrymen. But that prestige does not require artificial supports ; it rests upon conduct, and conduct alone. My precept in this respect does not differ from my practice. During the time that I have been in India the Government have taken a strong stand for the fair treatment of our Indian fellow-subjects, who are equal with us in the eyes of God and the law. I rejoice to say that the conduct of Englishmen in general in India towards the Indians is exemplary, even in trying and provocative circumstances ; but where exceptions occur I think that the sentiment of the majority should be as quick to condemn them as is their conduct, and that the Government, which is above race or party, and against whom any injustice is a reproach and a slur, should receive the unhesitating support of the entire community. That is the policy which the Government has pursued in my time, and by my conduct, my Lord Mayor and gentlemen, I am willing to be judged.

I will now bring these remarks to a close. It is seventeen years since I first visited India ; it is thirteen years since I first had the honour of being connected with its administration. India was the first love, and throughout all that time it has been the main love, of my political life. I have given to it some of my best years. Perhaps I may be privileged to give to it yet more. But no man could do this unless he saw before India a larger vision or were himself inspired with a fuller hope. If our Empire were to end to-morrow, I do not think that we need be ashamed of its epitaph. It would have done its duty to India, and justified its mission to mankind. But it is not going to end. It is not

a moribund organism. It is still in its youth, and has in it the vitality of an unexhausted purpose. I am not with the pessimists in this matter. I am not one of those who think that we have built a mere fragile plank between the East and West which the roaring tides of Asia will presently sweep away. I do not think that our work is over or that it is drawing to an end. On the contrary, as the years roll by, the call seems to me more clear, the duty more imperative, the work more majestic, the goal more sublime. I believe that we have it in our power to weld the people of India to a unity greater than any they have hitherto dreamed of, and to give them blessings beyond any that they now enjoy. Let no man admit the craven fear that those who have won India cannot hold it, or that we have only made India to our own or to its unmaking. That is not the true reading of history. That is not my forecast of the future. To me the message is carved in granite, it is hewn out of the rock of doom—that our work is righteous and that it shall endure.

I thank you, my Lords and gentlemen, for the encouragement that has been given by the citizens of London through me to all those who are engaged in this great and noble undertaking. I shall go forth again refreshed and re-invigorated by your sympathy.

LUNCHEON AT MANSION HOUSE

Following the ceremony at the Guildhall on July 20, 1904, the Lord Mayor entertained a distinguished company at the Mansion House at luncheon, to meet Lord Curzon "on his admission to the Freedom of the City of London." In reply to the toast of his health, Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

I have already detained a large audience, some of whom I believe are also present here, at no inconsiderable length in the Guildhall, and I am afraid that I should ill requite your hospitality if I were again to trespass at any length upon the indulgence of your guests. I have yet to find the audience in England that would stand two long speeches on India in the course of the same summer after-

noon. I expect that they would call aloud for an allopathic treatment. I remember reading a story of Lord Macaulay when he was first appointed a member of the Board of Control in England ; while he was still studying the question of India he wrote a letter to his sister in which he said, " Am I not in fair training to become as great a bore as if I had been in India myself—that is, as great a bore as the greatest ? " With this warning ringing in my ears, I fear that I must not show any great eagerness to respond to the lead which you have given me in the graceful and complimentary remarks to which I have just listened. Your speech was in itself a high compliment to me. It contained a statement of further compliment, about which, until the moment that you announced it, I was not myself certain—namely, that I am at this moment the youngest Freeman of the City of London. It was accompanied by yet another compliment in the shape of the letter which you read from the head of His Majesty's Government. I was sent out to India by one Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury ; when I left England my health was proposed at a valedictory banquet by another Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery ; and now to-day you have read out the language of compliment of a third, Mr. Balfour. Lord Salisbury had a peculiar acquaintance with India, for not only was he twice Secretary of State for that great dependency, but his despatches and minutes about the Government of India are among the very best models of official literature in the English language. Lord Rosebery is, I believe, the only English Prime Minister who has been out to India since the days of the Duke of Wellington, and I should like to commend his example to the many embryonic Premiers who are possibly seated at this table. Mr. Balfour has never yet done us that honour, but I should like also to suggest to him a visit to that great dependency as a preferable alternative to some of the experiences which will possibly lie before him in the ensuing years. However that may be, Mr. Balfour has devoted to the military and political problems arising out of our Indian Empire an amount of attention unequalled by any of his predecessors, and likely, in my opinion, to be

fraught with inestimable advantage to the interests of the Empire as a whole.

My Lord Mayor, I detect only one omission in your remarks, and it has reminded me of a still greater omission in the speech that I made in the Guildhall this morning. When any assemblage of Englishmen meets together to extol the manner in which India is governed, do not let them forget the men by whom it is governed. This is the more necessary because, owing to the conditions of their work, the majority of them are unknown at home. The Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and a few high officials more or less fill the public eye and earn praise for the work which is done by others. Sometimes, it is true, they are criticised for acts on the part of their subordinates of which they have never even heard. But there can be no question that the balance is largely on the other side, and that many an official name has been written in characters that have lasted on cairns that others have raised. And who, if I may pursue the subject for a moment, are these men of whom I speak? They are drawn from every part of this country and from every rank of society. They are typical of the best of the British race and of British life. Some of them are the pick of your Universities. Others carry to India names that have already been borne in that country by generations before them. Accident, no doubt, takes some into the Civil Service, hereditary associations take others, but I believe that it is the Englishman's passion for responsibility, his zest for action on a large field, that is the ruling motive with most. And I think that they are right; for in India initiative is hourly born; there great deeds are constantly being done, there is room for fruition, there is a horizon for results. I do not mean to say that it is not so at home, but to one coming back from a long service abroad those considerations are less patent to the eye. In the Guildhall this morning I saw men who had administered provinces with a population double that of the United Kingdom, with a population half again as great as that (India excluded) of the whole British Empire. I have myself served with colleagues in India who would have been entitled to a place in any Imperial Cabinet, and who would

have risen to high place in any Government in the world. It is true that the names of these men are not on the lips of their countrymen,—their faces are unknown,—but allow me to say for them, on this rare occasion when I have the opportunity of speaking, that they are the real Empire-builders, for in the sweat of their brow have they laid the foundations of which you in England only see the fair and glittering superstructure as it rears its head into the sky.

I sometimes think that in the catalogue of our national virtues we hardly lay sufficient stress upon the enormous administrative ability of the English race—I speak of ability as distinguished from the moral ingredients of character and courage, which are the more obvious elements of success. And yet, in all parts of the Empire, and more especially in India, we have an amount of administrative ability which could not be purchased for millions of pounds sterling, and which is the envy of every other empire-possessing nation in the world. I hope that in what I have just said I have not given the impression that I think the service of such men is unrecognised at home. I do not believe there is any deliberate lack of interest or want of pride in their work. It arises rather from the Englishman's familiar indifference to the great things that he is doing on the face of the earth, and his fussy and parochial agitation about the small.

If I may keep you a moment longer, there is one other aspect of the work of the Civil Service in India to which I should like to refer. I spoke this morning about the magnitude of the undertaking; let me add a word about the industry that it entails. I sometimes hear people at home speak about the members of the Indian Civil Service as though they were persons who had little else to do in India but perspire. At least, that is their idea about the men who live and work in the plains; and as for those happy ones, including myself, who go up to Simla or the hill stations, we are regarded as the lucky denizens of places where a mild frivolity alternates with an almost Olympian repose. That is not my experience of any seat of government in India, whatever its altitude. There is a story told of two eminent Frenchmen—I believe they

were M. Littré, the great lexicographer, and M. Dumas, the novelist. They are said at one time to have occupied the same residence, and to have kept such different hours of work that when one of them was going upstairs in the early morning, after completing the labours of the night, he used to meet the other coming downstairs to commence the work of the day. I do not say that we have reached that standard in India,—*consule Planco*,—but there are many among the admirable officers by whom I have been served who would not find it so very startling.

While I am speaking of the Services in India, let me add one word about the men in the plains. I do not think any one ought to make a speech about India without remembering the men in the plains. All through the heat of the summer, when the earth is like iron and the skies are like brass, when during the greater part of the day every chink and crevice must be closed to keep out the ravening air, these men and their wives with them—for Englishwomen in India are just as capable of devotion and heroism as are their husbands—remain at their posts devoted and uncomplaining. They sometimes remind me rather of the men who are engaged in the engine-room of a man-of-war: there they are stoking the furnaces while the great ship is being manœuvred and the big guns are thundering overhead. Sometimes they go down with the vessel without ever having seen the battle or the fighting; but if their commander wins the victory, up they come, begrimed with smoke, to take their share in the rejoicing. My Lord Mayor and gentlemen, these are the real organisers of victory; and never let any of us think of the service of his son, or brother, or relative in India, without turning a thought to the men and women in the plains. Such is the character and such is the work of the men with whom it has been my privilege to co-operate during the last five and a half busy years. We have been living in strenuous times in India. I have heard it whispered that they have been too strenuous for some, but if this be so, it is not from the members of the Civil Service that I should ever have learned the fact. Though the work of reconstruction and reform which I was speaking about in the Guildhall

this morning is one which must have imposed a heavy strain on their energies, I have never from any one of them, young or old, high or low, heard one murmur of protest or complaint. You will pardon me if I refer to this fact on the present occasion, and if I say that, in accepting the compliment you have offered to me, I think much more of them. It is on their behalf, even more than on my own, that I gratefully acknowledge the gracious words that you have spoken, and thank you for the manner in which you have proposed my health.¹

PRESENTATION OF FREEDOM OF BOROUGH OF DERBY

On July 28, 1904, the Freedom of the Borough of Derby was presented to Lord Curzon, in the Drill Hall at Derby, before an audience drawn from all parts of Derbyshire, his native county. After signing the roll Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

[The earlier part of the speech, which was mainly of local interest, is omitted.]

Party has nothing whatever to do with India, and ought never to have anything to do with it. India stands outside of party. We know nothing there of the party labels of Liberal and Conservative, or Unionist and Radical. During the time that I have been serving in India I have almost forgotten to what party I originally belonged in this country, and I have received—and am grateful for the fact—the support of both political parties at home. I should like myself to go further. I should like to place a ring-fence round the whole British Empire, with a notice-board, on which should be written, "Any party man will be prosecuted who trespasses here." For to me the Empire is so sacred and so noble a thing that I cannot understand people quarrelling about it, or even holding opposite opinions about it. But I know as a matter of fact that they do, and that what to one man appears to be a splendid and

¹ With this speech may be compared Lord Curzon's farewell to the Indian Services, at the United Service Club dinner, at Simla, on September 30, 1905. *Vide p. 555.*

beneficent conception strikes another, some others, at any rate, as a vulgar and even contemptible form of greed. Therefore I am afraid that I must remain an idealist in respect of the Empire. But as regards India let there be no dispute and no doubt that party and India ought never to have anything to do with each other, and must never be brought into the same connection.

There was a time in the past when the Government of India was made the sport of political parties in this country. Indeed, there have been two periods in British history when this was pre-eminently the case. The first was at the end of the eighteenth century, when the government of India, or the misgovernment of India, whichever it was, was undoubtedly treated as a move in the political game. That great and ill-used man, Warren Hastings, one of the most eminent although the most suffering public servants that we have ever known, was prosecuted, not for what he had done or what he had not done in India—for most of the charges against him were false,—but in order to do injury to the political party that had appointed and supported him at home. Then later on, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Manchester school of politicians—that school of high aspirations and futile performance—took up the question of India, and once again nearly converted it into a party cry. Fortunately the danger of both these periods has passed away, and I hope that it is now impossible to revive them. The reasons for which it would be so pernicious to introduce anything like party into the government of India are very obvious, and must be known to all of you. In the first place, remember this: the lines of cleavage in India are entirely different from what they are here. Here they are mainly political between the two parties, both of whom I am glad to see represented in this hall. In India they are racial, religious, and social. In so far as they are political at all, they represent the inevitable line of cleavage between the rulers and the ruled, and that is a gap which in India we are always doing our best to bridge over and to fill up. You may imagine, therefore, what a mistake it would be to add another to the numerous causes of fissure that already exist in that country and

particularly one so mischievous in its character and so deleterious in its results. The second reason is this: if there is one thing that India wants for its gradual recuperation, and that the Government of India more than anything else desire in their effort to carry it out, it is continuity of administration. Nothing can be more fatal than that violent oscillations of policy should either occur, or should be expected to occur, when one party goes out and another party comes in in this country. It has been one of the main sources of the weakness and even of the failure of our frontier policy in India, that the two parties in this country have held different views about it, and that one party was supposed to be always wishing to push forward, whilst the other was credited with a desire to hang back. More than one of my predecessors in the Governor-Generalship of India have been recalled or have retired for this reason, when their party was defeated at the polls in England, and this fatal system has been the cause of more blunders and bloodshed on the Indian frontier than any other cause that I can for the moment think of. But the third reason is, I think, the most important of all. In the tremendous task that confronts us in India we want all Englishmen to be united. We cannot afford to have any divisions amongst ourselves. If I may take an illustration from another sphere, we have many of us seen how terribly handicapped the Christian Church is in its struggles with pagan religions by its own subdivisions into so many sects and denominations and creeds. Do not let us repeat that mistake in the sphere of Imperial statecraft. Let every man who works for India in India, or who thinks about India in England, do it not as a party man, but as a national man. Let India be regarded as so sacred a thing that it ought never to be fought about on British hustings, and never introduced as a plank into a party programme in this country.

I was wondering a day or two ago upon what particular aspect of Indian government I should say a few words to this audience this afternoon, when I found in my library a volume of the collected speeches of John Bright. He, as you know, took a great interest in India, and his speeches

upon that subject which were contained in this volume were delivered between forty and fifty years ago, just after the great Mutiny had swept like a tornado across the face of India, and when the ideas of men were in a state of fluidity as to what the future was going to bring forth or what form the Government of India ought to assume. These speeches of Mr. Bright were characterised by great and unaffected sympathy for the Indian peoples, by those lofty principles which seem to me to have invariably inspired his public action, and by that beauty and simplicity of language which remind one, in the ordered flow of his argument and the rhythmical cadence of his words, of the splash of waves upon the sea-shore. But these speeches almost without exception were striking illustrations of the proposition that I have just been discussing, for they were all of them dominated by the narrow and, as it seems to me, mistaken tenets of a particular political school.

To me it has always seemed a remarkable thing that the three most powerful intellects in the sphere of British politics that have ever seriously devoted themselves to the study of Indian problems should all have been so wrong in their verdicts, and, as it seems to me, all for the same reason. I speak of Burke, Macaulay, and Bright. The eloquence of Burke poured like a stream of lava across the whole field of Indian administration ; but it very often scorched and disfigured quite as much as it illuminated what it touched, and his presentation of the Indian incidents of his day, whatever it be as rhetoric or as literature—and in my view it is magnificent as both,—was most certainly not history. Then fifty years later we come to Macaulay. Just now I mentioned to you the name of Warren Hastings, and I said with truth that Warren Hastings was a man greatly to be pitied, and perhaps chiefly to be pitied for this : during his lifetime he was exposed to the passionate and unjust invective of Burke, and when he died and all this calumny ought to have been hushed in the grave, his reputation was, so to speak, exhumed again, and subjected to the unfair and partisan censure of Macaulay. Lord Macaulay rendered great service to India, particularly in the domain of law and education. He did

what men of genius almost invariably do: he made everything round him palpitate and glow with the reflex of his own intellectual force. But his Essays, which I suppose are the foundation of all that nine out of ten of us in this hall know about India, contained quite as much fiction as fact, and are often most vexatiously inaccurate and misleading. Finally, we come to the time of John Bright. His views about India, which I shall briefly mention to you in illustration of the position that I take up, were, in some respects, the most erroneous of all. I do not allude to the picture that Mr. Bright drew of the Government of India in his day, though I believe it to have been grossly exaggerated. He described the Civil Service of India as arrogant and tyrannous, the military service as clamorous and insatiable for expenditure, the people as crushed and downtrodden, education as trampled upon, crime as rampant, trade as stifled, communications as non-existent. I believe that that was not a true picture in his time, and it is certainly not a true picture now. He said that the Government of India was not a Government for watching over the people or conferring blessings upon them. I believe that that remark was not wholly true then; I believe it to be wholly untrue now. But I think that his forecasts were even more erroneous than his opinions. He held that the post of Governor-General was one so high and so great that it ought not to be filled by any subject of the Crown, and he laid down that the indispensable preliminary to the good government of India was the abolition of that post. I should not be addressing you here this afternoon if that advice had been followed, although it is not on personal so much as on public grounds that I greatly rejoice that it was never done. He went on to say that the only way by which good government could be secured in India was to split up that country into a number of separate presidencies or provinces, each with a separate and almost independent Government, and with a separate army of its own. I greatly rejoice that that advice was never carried out. I believe it would have been almost disastrous in its results. In 1858 he said, "The immense Empire that has been conquered by you in India is too vast for

management ; its base is in decay." When he spoke those words the population of India was 150 millions ; it is now 295 millions. When he spoke, the revenues of India were 30 millions ; they are now nearly 80 millions. And yet the Empire of India is no nearer dissolution than it was in his time ; on the contrary, I think it is a great deal further from it ; and so far from its foundations being based in decay, I believe that every year that passes it is striking its roots deeper and deeper into the soil.

Then I come—and I have only one more quotation—to the famous passage in which he said, "Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country, with its twenty different nations, and its twenty languages, can ever be bound up and consolidated into one compact and enduring Empire ? I believe such a thing [he said] to be utterly impossible ; we must fail in the attempt if ever we make it." Well, we have added a good many nations and a good many languages to that Empire since then, and I am here to-day to say that in my opinion, and, I believe, in the opinion of most of those who know anything about India and who have worked with me during the past five years, that which Mr. Bright regarded as an utter impossibility is neither a chimera nor a dream. Let me at once concede the extreme difficulty of the task. I do not say that we have attained our goal. Perhaps we are not even in sight of it. It is impossible to produce absolute unity among 300 millions of people. In the speech which I made the other day at the Guildhall I said something about our rule in India covering the whole space between barbarism at one end and civilisation at the other. Let me tell you a little story which, in a parable, will indicate that which otherwise might take a great many words. I remember hearing of an English sportsman in India who examined the arrows in the quiver of a native *shikari* belonging to one of the aboriginal tribes. He found the first arrow tipped with a stone—a relic of the neolithic age ; the next arrow was tipped with electric telegraph wire—a theft from the twentieth century. That story is typical of the whole of India. It conveys to you the amazing synthesis of anthropology, of history, of human experience which is

gathered within the boundaries of that great area. You may imagine that with a people so diversified, representing such opposite poles of creed and civilisation, complete unity is a thing which we cannot aspire to produce. India must always remain a constellation rather than a single star, must always be a continent rather than a country, a congeries of races rather than a single nation. But we are creating ties of unity among those widely diversified peoples, we are consolidating those vast and outspread territories, and, what is more important, we are going forward instead of backward. It is not a stationary, a retrograde, a downtrodden, or an impoverished India that I have been governing for the past five and a half years. Poverty there is in abundance. I defy any one to show me a great and populous country, or a great and populous city, where it does not exist. Misery and destitution there are. The question is not whether they exist, but whether they are growing more or growing less. In India, where you deal with so vast a canvas, I daresay the lights and shades of human experience are more vivid and more dramatic than elsewhere. But if you compare the India of to-day with the India of any previous period of history—the India of Alexander, of Asoka, of Akbar, or of Aurungzeb—you will find greater peace and tranquillity, more widely diffused comfort and contentment, superior justice and humanity, and higher standards of material well-being, than that great dependency has ever previously attained.

I am sometimes lost in amazement at those critics who fail to see these things, who protest to us that our rule in India is ruining the country and crushing the people; and I am still more amazed when I reflect that that class of critic is, as a rule, to be found among a small set of my own countrymen. It seems to me so perverse—I had almost said so wicked. The cant of self-praise is a disagreeable thing, but the cant of self-depreciation seems to me to be even more nauseating. Of the two types of Pharisee, the man who takes pride in his virtues is often a less offensive spectacle than the man who revels in imaginary sins. If it were strangers or foreigners or outsiders who held these views, and announced to us that our rule in India was a

failure and a crime, we perhaps should not be so much surprised ; we might attribute it to jealousy, or ignorance, or suspicion. But the very reverse is the case, and sometimes while I am reading the almost ferocious diatribes of a small number of my own countrymen about the alleged iniquity of our rule in India, I am simultaneously receiving letters from thinkers and men of action in other countries asking me to tell them what is the secret of our wonderful and unparalleled success. Year after year a stream of intelligent foreigners comes to India from France, from Germany, from America, from distant Japan, to study our methods and to copy our institutions. Book after book records the results of their inquiries and the admiration which they feel at the results. I take heart when I feel that I can appeal to this enlightened international jury in justification of the work that the rulers of India are doing. And whenever you meet any of the critics of the class whom I am describing I commend to you this particular form of confutation.

I am not so bold as to say that we make no mistakes in India. I daresay we make a great many. I am quite willing to claim a most liberal share for myself. Our rule is sometimes inflexible and harsh and unyielding, or, if it is not so, it appears to be so to the people. It is so difficult to understand them ; it is so much more difficult sometimes to get them to understand us. The points of view of the governor and the governed, and still more of the Asiatic and the European, are so wide apart that one hardly knows where to find a hyphen to connect them. It is impossible to explain everything that we are doing in India, or to meet and to check every form of misapprehension and attack. Let me give you an illustration. It is widely believed in many parts of India that the Government has purposely introduced the plague into that country in order to decimate the population, and thereby to render our task of government more easy. Well, you will say to me, "A most extraordinary thing ! But, of course, that can only apply to the very ignorant." Quite true. But the very ignorant are the enormous majority, the overwhelming majority, of the entire population. Even among the educated and intelligent classes the most astonishing misconceptions

prevail. For instance, if I take any particular branch of the administration and endeavour to reform it with the object of producing a higher state of efficiency and that alone, I find myself at once exposed to the charge that I am creating a number of unnecessary and lucrative billets to be filled by my countrymen from England. As if an administrator cares one snap what is the nationality of the man whom he wants for a post! What he wants is the best man for the post, and the work to be best done. If he can get a native, so much the better. The service of the native is cheaper; they know the language, the traditions, the customs of the country; they are inured to its climate. We take them where we can; but if we cannot find a native with the requisite scientific knowledge or the expert training, then we have to come to this country to get the man, even if we have to pay rather more for him. Well, the whole thing seems to me—would seem to any of us—so obvious as scarcely to require explanation. Yet I can assure you that it is one of the most fertile causes of misrepresentation and attack from one end of India to the other.

In this state of public feeling we have to be very patient in India, and to be indifferent to the various forms of misrepresentation and abuse. For my own part I think the highest duty that a ruler of India can set before himself is to create, if I may so describe them, special interpreters between the people and ourselves, to explain our ideas to them and theirs to us. It is with this object that while I have been there I have done my best on all occasions to take the public into my confidence, and to explain to them what I have done or what I meditate doing. The one thing in governing an Asiatic country is to break down the barriers between the hearts and consciences of men; and the man who can bring together the hearts of the peoples or races who are on either side of the barrier, and make them beat more closely together by a single pulsation, is a greater public benefactor than the conqueror of kingdoms. I have only one more thing to say. When I hear eulogies passed, as I did three-quarters of an hour ago, upon the administration in which I have taken a part during the past five years,

I am sometimes afraid lest people should think that it differs very much from that which has preceded it, or from that which will follow. No one man is necessary in any post in the world. I have come to the conclusion that no one man is very important. One who may be younger and tougher may carry on his work longer and more energetically before he breaks down. One man may enjoy good fortune and opportunities that are denied to another. But that is about all the difference. The machine in India is so vast that it is independent of the individual, or, rather, it is composed of the concentrated energies and abilities of so many individuals that to single one out for praise is merely to follow the recognised practice of rewarding troops in the person of the commander. I should not have been standing here to receive the Freedom of the borough of Derby to-day if great and distinguished Viceroys and Governors-General, with whom I do not venture to compare myself, had not preceded me and built the foundations upon which I have only laid another course. And when I have passed away and am forgotten, other and abler men will come after me, who will produce better results, and earn a more deserved applause. My sole ambition has been, during the time allowed to me, to add something to the solidity of that marvellous fabric of British rule in India, to repair, if possible, some of its weak places, and to leave it more enduring. No greater reward do I desire, or can I receive, than that the people of my native country, and perhaps even more the inhabitants of my native county and native town, should recognise that my intentions have been sincere, and that I have not laboured altogether in vain.

ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY ON RESUMPTION OF OFFICE

Lord Curzon landed at Bombay on December 9, 1904, after an absence from India of seven months, to assume for the second time the Viceroyalty of India. In reply to an address from the Municipal Corporation he spoke as follows:—

I thank you, Sir, and the members of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay, for the Address which you have just read, the third with which this body, so worthily representative of this great and renowned city, has honoured me during the past six years.

Landing on this quay again this morning, I cannot but recall the occasion when I stood here almost exactly six years ago. There is one great difference which must be apparent to all, but which is most apparent to me. I land alone to resume this great burden, without the sympathy and the solace at my side that have been my mainstay during these hard and often weary years. But that fact, so sad and so serious to me, reminds me of the comfort that has come to me from India in such rich measure during the past few months of anxiety and suffering, and which you, Sir, have echoed in your address this morning. I desire to thank all classes—the Princes of India, several of whom have journeyed to meet me here to-day and with whom I have just shaken hands, public bodies and societies, the officers of the Services, and Indian sympathisers of all classes who have written to me in such numbers—for their tender interest and solicitude. There is warmth of heart in India as great and as life-giving as there is of sky; and neither Lady Curzon nor I can readily forget the wealth of it that has been given to us in our hour of trial. I endeavoured to answer as many of these messages as I could with my own hand or through that of others. But if anywhere I failed, I beg the kindly correspondent whom I have unwittingly ignored to accept this acknowledgment.

The question may, perhaps, be asked why in these circumstances I should have come back at all. It is true

that I have already exceeded the longest term of office since that which sent Lord Canning home, more than forty years ago, to die. Only once before in a hundred and thirty years has a Governor-General for a second time taken up this office;¹ and in the fate which awaited him there was to be found little encouragement for a successor. May I give the answer in all humility as it rises in my own heart? Since this country first laid its spell upon me, I have always regarded it as the land not only of romance but of obligation. India to me is "Duty" written in five letters instead of in four. All the servants of Government, European or native, are also the servants of duty. The Viceroy himself is the slave of duty as well as its captain. We have all to do our work irrespective of minor considerations.

I do not know, Sir, for how long I may continue to hold this office, for the past six years have left their mark upon my own health, and I must for some time be very dependent upon what I hear from home. But within the space permitted to me, be it short or long, there are a few things which I should like to carry some stages further towards completion, because I believe, rightly or wrongly, that they will contribute to the strength of the Empire and the welfare of this country. We still have to carry through the reform of the police, the most vital and imperative of domestic reforms, touching the very core of the life of the Indian people. There has been no undue delay, and we are only awaiting the final orders of the Secretary of State in the matter. We have to translate into fact, so far as our resources permit, the findings of the Irrigation Commission. We have to start the new Department of Commerce and Industry, which will take special charge of those interests that must play so large a part in the future prosperity of India. We have to inaugurate our new Railway Board, and to speed our educational reforms on their way. There are several administrative reforms, already initiated, still to be carried through to conclusion. We have to rivet tighter the bonds of steel that constitute our land defences, so that none may rashly force an entrance, and threaten the security or dissipate the slowly garnered prosperity of the people.

¹ Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General 1786-1793, and again in 1805.

We are in train to do this by the great scheme of military reorganisation to which the present Commander-in-Chief in India is devoting his unique experience and authority,¹ by a policy of friendly alliance and understanding with our neighbours on all our frontiers from Lhasa to Kabul, and by a better co-ordination of our military resources within our borders, both those which are under the Imperial Government and those which are supplied by our loyal coadjutors the Native States. If, when the time comes for me to go, I can feel that these plans are either realised or are sure of their ultimate issue, I shall contentedly depart, and shall leave what I hope will be quieter days and less laborious nights to my successor.

During the time that I have been in England I have found many signs among my own countrymen of a warm and steadily growing interest in India. There is not, I believe, a single thoughtful Briton who looks at the connection between the two countries from a selfish or sordid or purely materialistic point of view. There are few, if any, among them who do not realise the responsibility and desire that it should be discharged faithfully. I pray you, I pray the native community in India, to believe in the good faith, in the high honour, and in the upright purpose of my countrymen. In England there are no two parties about India. It is the desire of all parties that the government of this dependency should be conducted with insight and sympathy, and that our guiding stars should be mercy and justice. Some perhaps would advance more quickly, others more slowly, but all would advance, as we are advancing. Is it an impossible aspiration to ask that in India there should be no two parties about England? Disagreement there may well be as to methods and details; but in principles and essentials let us be one.

[The remainder of the speech, which related to local subjects, is omitted.]

¹ Lord Kitchener.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL PROGRESS

FIRST BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 27, 1899

IT is a source of no slight pleasure to me, that the first Financial Statement to which I should have listened in this Council has been one of so gratifying a description. My belief, more than once expressed on previous occasions, in the economic vitality of this country, in the solidity and range of its resources, and its capacity for an industrial expansion far beyond what has hitherto been deemed possible, is confirmed by the experience of the past year. I recognise that the circumstances have been exceptionally favourable. War has fortunately ceased upon the frontier. There has been a high and an almost uniform rate of exchange. There has been a notable expansion in certain industries. The harvests have been abundant. On the other hand, there have been corresponding sources of depression and alarm in the recurrence of plague, which neither the resources of science nor the utmost administrative vigilance have so far succeeded in defeating, and which has made heavy inroads upon the Imperial as well as upon the Provincial Exchequers. That the net result of these contending influences should yet be a balance of $4\frac{3}{4}$ crores is indicative to my mind not merely of uncommon powers of recuperation, but of a marvellous latent reserve of strength.

We have been criticised in these circumstances for not having proposed a remission of taxation; and that criticism has found capable expression in more than one quarter at

this table to-day. I quite understand, and I do not in any degree deprecate, such criticism. It is the natural and legitimate desire of tax-payers all over the world to obtain relief from what they regard, or at least represent, as their burdens, and to feel the passion for relief swelling in their bosoms in proportion to the apparent existence of the means for satisfying it. I doubt not that the payers of income-tax would have welcomed an extension of the scale of exemption. I may add also that it is equally the desire of Governments not merely to earn the popularity that may result from a remission of taxation—although my experience is that popularity so won is a very ephemeral asset,—but also in the interests of good government itself to reduce the burdens upon the people. But there are considerations in this case, both normal and exceptional, which decided us to take the opposite course.

The normal consideration of which I speak was that of ordinary caution. Though I have spoken of the astonishing recovery of the past year, though I believe it to represent a much more than transient improvement in the resources of the country, and though Sir J. Westland¹ budgets for a surplus of nearly 4 crores in the coming year, I am yet too conscious of the part played by what I may describe as the swing of the pendulum in the economic world to be willing to sacrifice any portion of a hardly won advantage by being in too great a hurry. The Hon. Sir G. Evans has reminded us that India is a land of surprises, and these surprises are liable to start into existence equally in the spheres of politics and finance. Even in the more sober atmosphere of England we have had during the past year a startling instance of this phenomenon; for whereas, in the plenitude of our wealth and substance, the Government of which I was a member a year ago agreed to a remission of taxation by which we forfeited in the case of one duty alone² a sum of nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling without, so far as I remember, exciting any gratitude from anybody, within the space of a year the balance has so completely swung round owing to unexpected calls that, if what I read in the papers

¹ Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1893-1899.

² The tobacco duty, taken off in 1898, reimposed in 1899.

be correct, there will be no cause for surprise should the forthcoming Budget contain proposals for the recovery of considerably more than was then remitted. To reduce taxation in one year and to reimpose it in the next is a condition to which Governments have frequently been driven by unforeseen events. But it is one which it is better to avoid by an excess of prudence at the time than to meet with whatever ingenuity at a later period.

The special circumstances which, more even than these general considerations, decided us against any remission of taxation in the forthcoming year are known to all. It is not unlikely that we may be invited before long to inaugurate momentous changes in the financial system of the Indian Empire. What these changes may be none of us as yet know, and we reserve our entire liberty to examine and consider them when they are submitted to us by Her Majesty's Government as the result of the expert inquiry now proceeding in London. But it must be obvious to the least informed that the prospects of any such change as we may decide to undertake must depend very largely upon the position and the credit that we enjoy at the time in the eyes of the world ; that they will be enhanced by the evidences of financial strength to which a large balance and expanding resources are the best testimony ; and that they might be correspondingly imperilled by any stringency or insecurity here. We may be called upon to take steps that will affect the entire future of Indian trade and finance. We cannot afford, therefore, to slacken our hold upon any implement that may conduce to their success.

There is another respect in which we may be thought to have carried caution to excessive lengths. The hon. member has framed his estimates for next year upon the basis of a $15\frac{3}{4}$ d. rupee. This has been variously explained as typical of the prudence of one whom I may perhaps without offence describe as "an old financial hand," or as prompted by a chivalrous desire to present a larger surplus than is apparent on the surface to his successor. I understand that both interpretations have been repudiated by the hon. member to-day. May I, however, add—and I do not think that I shall err on the opposite side of optimism

in so doing—that this underestimation, for so I think it may be called, must not be taken to indicate the least want of confidence on the part of the Indian Government. For my part I have every belief that the rupee will retain throughout the ensuing year the same position that it has done during the past; and I may even go further and say that I shall be disappointed if we are not able to invest the 16d. rupee with a greater durability than any which it has hitherto attained.

[Here followed some paragraphs of local interest, which have been omitted.]

I am entirely in agreement with some of the remarks that fell from the Hon. Mr. Arthur with respect to the present high rate of Telegraphic charges. I regard that rate as inimical to trade, as being a barrier to the ever-growing intercourse between India and the mother country, and as being obsolete and anomalous in itself. I have already considered the question, and I may say that I have placed it in a category of twelve important questions, all of them waiting to be taken up, all of them questions which ought to have been taken up long ago, and to which, as soon as I have the time, I propose to address myself. What these questions are I do not propose to relieve the curiosity of hon. members by now informing them.¹ But another question has been raised by an hon. member sitting at this table which I am unable to add to the dozen. I am unable to add to it the suggestion of the Hon. Mr. Chitnavis that I should acquiesce in the reduction of the British soldiers in India. I can assure him that no such proposal will form part of the programme of the Government of India during my time.

As regards Railways, Sir J. Westland has indicated in his Budget Statement that for the moment our motto is *festina lente*, although this must not be taken to mark any policy of revulsion from that which has lately been pursued. There are times, however, at which it is desirable to go a little slower than the maximum pace. I am, however, rather in sympathy with what fell from the Maharaja of

¹ *Vide* p. 76 for the list.

Darbhanga concerning the encouragement of light gauge feeder railways; and since I came here I have authorised the construction of some hundreds of miles of such lines. I should say in this context that one of the subjects to which I propose to turn my attention while at Simla is the whole question of the policy of Government in respect of railways in India, and our attitude towards private enterprise in particular. I am not satisfied with a condition of affairs which lays the Indian Government open to the charge—whether it be true or false I have not as yet the knowledge that enables me to pronounce—of indifference to the offers of assistance that are made to it, and of hostility to the investment of British capital in the country. We may hope much from fixity of exchange if we can succeed in establishing it. I should be glad if the Government could at the same time by its own attitude encourage what I hope may before long be a pronounced inclination towards India of the financial currents in the mercantile world.

[Here followed a paragraph upon Irrigation, which has been reproduced under that head.]

SECOND BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 28, 1900

In closing this last debate of the present Session of Council, I am constrained to admit that it has not been a session very prolific in legislation. It has not, for that reason, been, in my opinion, any the worse. On the contrary, I think that we opened the session with too full a wallet. Our session is, owing to the conditions of our life at Calcutta, necessarily limited in duration. All the stages of legislation, after the preliminary inquiries and introduction of the various Bills, have practically to be got through in the space of three months. In the case of small or uncontentious measures this is enough, and more than enough. In the case of an important measure which has been long debated, and has probably only reached the

stage of legislation after years of previous discussion, it may also be sufficient. But I doubt if it is sufficient in cases where several important measures may be simultaneously on the Agenda paper, and where, in the course of the examination of the Bills themselves, acute difference of opinion may be developed, or alterations may be made in a Bill in Select Committee or elsewhere that radically affect its original character. In such cases I would sooner be charged with undue caution than with extravagant haste. We are free in India from the particular temptation that impels Governments to legislate at all hazards in the British Parliament, namely, the desire either to fulfil the promises sometimes rashly given upon platforms at a previous election, or to establish a better record than their political opponents for the purposes of the ensuing one. Being free from these temptations, and having no standard of action beyond our own sense of responsibility and of the public needs, I think that it behoves us to legislate sparingly, to look very closely to the quality, and not too much to the quantity, of our output, and, while very jealously guarding the duty of Government, which is to lead public opinion and in no way to abrogate the supreme authority vested in us, at the same time not to push our measures through with undue precipitation, above all, not to give to any party or interest the idea that its views have been imperfectly considered or contemptuously brushed aside.

For these reasons we have, during the present session, postponed the Assam Labour Bill, upon which we did not receive, until too late a date, all the replies that we had asked for; and the Coal Mines Bill, in which amendments so substantial were introduced in Select Committee that we felt it desirable again to consult the local Governments before proceeding further with the Bill.¹ It was on similar grounds that I announced the withdrawal of the Press Messages Bill ten days ago. Now there may be some people who may make this series of postponements a source of reproach, and may interpret them as a sign of weak or distracted counsels. I do not think that, at any

¹ Both these Bills were passed into law in 1901.

rate in the present case, there would be the slightest justification for such a reproach. Speaking for the rest of my colleagues as well as myself, I can truthfully say that we have acted only after careful deliberation and in the public interest, and I believe that our decision has been ratified by public opinion, and has been acceptable to the majority of hon. members who sit upon this Council. For my own part, I say unhesitatingly that, in proportion as our legislative machinery in India is prompt and powerful in its action, and is free from many of the clogs that impede legislation in England, so should it only be employed with much forethought and deliberation. That does not mean for a moment that Government must never pass unpopular Bills. All legislation is unpopular with somebody ; and I have seen enough of Parliamentary life to have heard the most salutary measures denounced as iniquitous at the time of their introduction, and to have seen statesmen and Governments savagely abused for the passing of Acts which were afterwards extolled as their principal title to fame. I daresay, therefore, that this Council in my time will pass some Bills that will be stoutly resisted and roundly assailed. All I hope is that we shall not be guilty of the particular vice of legislation in a hurry.

Passing from these general considerations to the discussion in which we are at present engaged, it will, I am sure, be the opinion of all who heard the Hon. Mr. Dawkins¹ last Wednesday, that he placed before us a clear and even luminous statement, dealing with a large variety of subjects and a great mass of figures, with the easy confidence that betrays the hand of the master and wins the confidence of the pupil. I am sure that we all of us regret that we shall not listen to many more such statements from his lips, and that the Government of India will not profit in future years by Mr. Dawkins' wide experience and expert counsel. He is unfortunately leaving us, after a too brief period of Indian service. During that time he has had to contend with circumstances representing a transitional phase in our financial history ; and he has further seen all prospect of a

¹ Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1899-1900, afterwards Sir Clinton Dawkins, K.C.B., who unhappily died in December 1905.

notable Budget, of a large surplus, of great schemes, of a sensible relief of taxation—in fact, all the legitimate aspirations of a financier,—stolen from him by the sad famine against which we are now struggling. One by one, therefore, his Spanish castles have been dissolved in thin air, and he has been compelled to present a curtailed programme and a stern business statement, in which, if there is nothing startling or sensational, it is yet a matter of sincere congratulation, not merely that equilibrium is maintained, but that a slight surplus is even estimated for the forthcoming year. Nevertheless, in his year of office Mr. Dawkins has not failed to leave his mark, and it will be found to be a durable mark upon our financial history and system. He has successfully inaugurated the new era under which the sovereign has become legal tender in India, and stability in exchange has assumed what we hope may be a stereotyped form.

This great change has been introduced in defiance of the vaticinations of all the prophets of evil, and more especially of the particular prophecy that we could not get gold to come to India, that we could not keep it in our hands if we got it here, but that it would slip so quickly through our fingers that we should even have to borrow to maintain the necessary supply. As a matter of fact, we are almost in the position of the mythological king, who prayed that all he touched might be turned into gold, and was then rather painfully surprised when he found that his food had been converted into the same somewhat indigestible material. So much gold, indeed, have we got that we are now giving gold for rupees as well as rupees for gold, *i.e.* we are really in the enjoyment of complete convertibility—a state of affairs which would have been derided as impossible by the experts a year ago. Mr. Dawkins has further introduced several useful reforms in the method of stating our accounts. That delusive column that appeared to represent Loss by Exchange has vanished. The dreadful and bewildering symbol of Rx. has been politely bowed out of existence. I remember last year, when still a newcomer from England, and before I had become accustomed to the multiplicity of Indian financial symbols, being considerably puzzled at the

occurrence in the same statement of no less than five different methods of computation, viz. Rupees, Tens of Rupees, Pounds Sterling, Lakhs, and Crores. Now, I have never myself understood why finance, because it is complex, need also be made obscure. But Mr. Dawkins is one of the few financiers whom I have found willing to subscribe to that elementary proposition. A useful step has also been taken by him, by which the only public works that will in future be charged against the Annual Famine Grant, or, as it is sometimes called, Famine Insurance Fund, of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores, will be works that are designed and executed exclusively as a protection against famine. This does not mean that such works can be brought up to the full margin of the grant, for protective public works are necessarily limited in number. What it does mean is that the allocation of the grant for such famine protective purposes as are available will be more easily traceable, the unappropriated balance being devoted as now to avoidance of debt. Perhaps in this respect we may be able to carry correct definition even further in the future. During his term of office Mr. Dawkins has further adopted a liberal policy in his attitude towards banking and other enterprise in this country; and if he has not been here long enough to carry to a final conclusion the important question of banking amalgamation or reform, he has appreciably expedited the solution of the problem, and has facilitated the labours of his successor by the free and fearless discussion which he has inaugurated, both in private conference and in public despatch, upon this momentous issue. Finally, in the reply to which we have just listened, Mr. Dawkins has shown an ability to meet the criticisms which have been passed upon his Budget in the course of this debate which renders it a cause of additional regret that this is the last occasion on which we shall listen to a similar performance from him.

[Here followed a number of paragraphs about Famine, Irrigation, and Military Administration, which have been reproduced under those headings.]

THIRD BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 27, 1901

We have arrived at the close of what I venture to claim as a practical and business-like session. A year ago, in my Budget speech, I had to confess and to explain the withdrawal or the postponement of our most important legislative measures. In the present year we have a better record; for not merely have we placed upon the Statute-book a number of subsidiary measures, to one of which, providing a much-desired relief in respect of inheritance and of succession duties to native Christians, I attach no small weight, but we have also carried into law two Bills of the highest importance, the Assam Labour Bill and the Mines Bill, both of which raised issues of a very controversial character, and were keenly watched by public opinion. I ventured to prophesy last year that we should profit rather than lose by postponement; and I have little doubt that, whereas we have in both cases secured general assent, and in one case absolute unanimity, in the final stages of these measures, we should not have been so fortunate had we persisted in pushing them forward at that time. I feel therefore that we may all compliment ourselves upon good work done; and although my test of the success of a legislative session in India certainly would not be the amount of the legislative out-turn, I yet feel that, even judged by this standard, we have not done amiss. It is hardly necessary for me to reiterate the opinion to which I have given expression on a previous occasion, and which, I am sure, will meet with the enthusiastic acceptance of the Hon. Mr. Buckingham,¹ that I am not anxious to strain too heavily the productive capacity of our legislative machine during the remainder of the time that I am in India.

If our session has been one of a workmanlike character, we may also claim that it has terminated in a very business-

¹ Afterwards Sir J. Buckingham, representative of the Assam tea-planting interest on the Legislative Council.

like Budget and in a discussion of solid interest. Sir E. Law¹ has hardly met with the conditions which a financier of repute would voluntarily choose for the inauguration of an Indian term of office. He has had to fight a famine of exceptional severity, and to watch a financial situation that has always been delicate, and sometimes anxious. Nevertheless, at the end of a year of strain, he has been able to convert the almost nominal surplus that was estimated for by his predecessor into a sum of nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling. He can congratulate the country and himself that the currency policy, which was inaugurated just before he joined us, has gained in strength and stability at his hands, so much so that all those gloomy ravens who sat about and croaked of disaster at about the time when the London Committee issued its report, seem to have vanished from the scene; and after making the most ample provision for a generous famine expenditure in the Bombay Presidency, which unfortunately is not yet free from serious drought, for increased military expenditure, and for a much larger outlay upon railways and upon irrigation, in the forthcoming year, he is yet able to predict a substantial surplus at its close, which, if only we can count upon a recurrence of normal conditions, I shall hope to see largely increased.

I do not wish to strain these achievements, or the figures upon which they rest, beyond their legitimate scope. I am well aware that we have had a number of windfalls during the past year, which no one could foresee, and upon which we most certainly cannot reckon in the future. But nevertheless, making due allowance for them, I still claim that the situation is one that is hopeful, both as regards the economic and the financial position of India. I shall revert to the first of these subjects later on. But as regards the latter, while I should always be cautious in dogmatising either about the durability of any financial situation or the vitality of any fiscal system, I yet think that, if we examine our main sources of revenue and note their steady increase, we may feel some confidence that, barring a recurrence of disasters which are beyond our foresight or control, India is

¹ Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1900-1901.

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¹ Finance Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1900-1905.

already beginning to tread upon a brighter and happier pathway.

[Here followed a passage about Military Administration, which is printed under that heading.]

In my first Budget speech two years ago, I alluded to twelve important reforms to which I hoped to address myself while in India. I was sufficiently cautious at the time not to indicate their nature, and I remember that there was some playful conjecture as to what they might be. Inasmuch as before we meet again at this table more than half of the normal term of office of a Governor-General will have elapsed, and as I shall be terminating my third and entering upon my fourth year of administration, I may perhaps take advantage of the present occasion to indicate in more precise language how far the Government of India has travelled up to the present date along the road which we then set before ourselves.¹ I hope I may not be misunderstood. Neither my colleagues nor I desire to claim for ourselves any premature credit for measures as yet only recently introduced, and to which the test of experience has yet to be applied. We also know enough of India not to be sanguine or to prophesy. Just as two years ago I never anticipated that we were standing on the brink of an appalling famine—the second within three years,—so now there may be vicissitudes or risks ahead of us of which we know nothing, and which may upset all our calculations. All I desire to do upon the present occasion is to take the public into our confidence as to the measures which we have placed before ourselves, and to indicate to it that we have not so far been idle.

[The ensuing paragraphs dealt with the first and second in importance among the twelve objects, viz. the creation of a sound Frontier Policy, and the constitution of an efficient Frontier Administration. They are reproduced under these headings.]

¹ From this and subsequent references it appears that the first Twelve Subjects were the following: Frontier Policy and Province, Reform of Leave Rules, Secretariat Reform, Currency Reform, Railway Reform and Creation of Railway Board, Irrigation Reform, Relief of Agricultural Indebtedness, Reduction of Telegraphic Rates, Preservation of Ancient Monuments, Universities Bill and Educational Reform in general, Police Reform, Policy towards Native States and Chiefs.

Third in order of importance I place the steps that we have taken, with the consent of the Secretary of State, to remedy what I hold to have been one of the greatest abuses that have grown up in recent years in this country, and the most subtle and insidious danger to Indian Administration. I allude to the frequency of official transfers, arising partly out of our Leave Rules, partly from local systems of official promotion, partly from a preference of the convenience of the individual to the exigencies of the public service. It is hopeless to expect good administration without continuity, intelligent administration without local knowledge, popular administration without personal interest. If these considerations apply to government in any country, much more are they true of a country like India, where large masses of people are being ruled by a small minority of alien extraction. The abilities, the training, and the enthusiasm of the latter are all discounted or thrown away if the officers are shifted hither and thither before they know the district, or have mastered the local dialect, or have acquired the confidence of the inhabitants. It is as though the captain of a cricket eleven were to place his field indiscriminately and to shift a man from post to post before he had learned the work of one. This great danger in India, as to which I never fail to make inquiries wherever I go on tour, and which in some parts of the country has attained to extravagant dimensions, has attracted our earnest study ; and the reform in the Leave Rules which we have instituted, and which, without detracting from the privileges of the Service, will prevent the frequent removal of officers upon leave at short and insufficient intervals, with a consequent chain of transfers and far-reaching dislocation, will, we hope, tend very greatly to mitigate the evil. At the same time we are taking up independently the case of particular Presidencies or Provinces where a bad system seems to call for special treatment, and we have issued general rules, applicable to all, as to the conditions under which district posts should in future be held. Any administrator who in his time can feel that he has done something to draw closer together the ties between rulers and ruled in this country, and to produce that sympathy that can only result from mutual knowledge,

may go away with a consciousness of not having altogether failed.

A corollary of this abuse is the divorce that has been brought about between an officer and his work, or at any rate the most important part of his work, by the interminable writing that has grown up in the administration of this country, and that threatens to extinguish all personality, or initiative, or despatch, under mountains of manuscript and print. The real tyranny that is to be feared in India is not the tyranny of executive authority, but that of the pen. I do not say that the system is without its good features. It could not have grown up, it could not have reached its present dimensions in India, had it not had substantial justification. In a country so large, where the life of officials, even the most sedentary, is so fleeting, where customs and traditions and practice vary so greatly, and where such importance rightly attaches to precedent, it is essential that there should be preserved the written records not merely of administrations, but of departments. In this way only can an officer upon arrival in a new district find out what has been going on there before him; and in this way only are the perpetually changing officers in the various Secretariats able to deal with cases, of which, without the written records, they would be in entire ignorance. These are the good and necessary sides of the system. But there is a consensus of opinion among those who are qualified to speak that the engine has become so powerful as to have got the better of its driver, and that those who should be the masters of the system have become its slaves. In the departments of Government I found when I came here inordinate writing, unjustifiable repetition, unbusiness-like procedure, and much easily avoidable delay. I do not think that any individual or series of individuals could be blamed for this. It had grown up, so to speak, by stealth; and every one was a half-unconscious victim. Three things were necessary. The first step was to make a careful study of the system in the various departments, and to ascertain when and how and why it had grown. I found that it was almost entirely the product of the last twenty-five years, and that it synchronised with the great development of com-

munications, and more especially of the telegraph—in other words, that it was the product of modern centralisation. The next step was to compare our system with those of the best offices in the Government at home, and to see what lessons could be derived from them. The third step was, by consultation with all those officers who are responsible for working it, to ascertain where the pruning-knife could most effectively be applied. In this way was drawn up an entirely new set of Rules of Business for the Secretariat of the Government of India, providing for greater simplification of procedure, less penwork, more frequent verbal consultation, superior despatch. These rules were sent round to all the local Governments, and with suitable modifications have been largely adopted by them. They have now been in operation for a year and a half in the departments of the Government of India. I watch over them, as my hon. colleagues and the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries know, with all the interested vigilance of a parent, and I have received and desire to acknowledge the most loyal co-operation at their hands. More recently, after prolonged examination, we have attacked that more mischievous development of the same abuse which arises out of the multiplicity and length of Reports, and we are striking at its very roots. It is no exaggeration to say that the system of Report-writing that prevails in India is at once the most perfect and the most pernicious in the world,—the most perfect in its orderly marshalling of facts and figures, and in the vast range of its operation ; the most pernicious in the remorseless consumption of time, not to mention print and paper, that it involves, and in its stifling repression of independence of thought or judgment. The Government have made public their views in a Resolution recently published in the Gazette, and we are now addressing all the local Governments. It is of no use to deal with the matter in pious generalisations, or with academic counsels of perfection. Resolutions or appeals of that sort are gratefully acknowledged, and as speedily forgotten. We have made a detailed examination of every Report that comes in from any quarter to the Government of India, and have collated them over a period of years. In this way we have been

able to strike a mean, both as to contents, and character, and length. A great many have been found to be useless, and have been abolished altogether. With regard to the remainder, we have issued definite orders in each case, prescribing the manner of compilation and the limits of length. We have invited the local Governments to do the same with the Reports that go up to them but do not come on to us. We are thus thinning the forest, not by a general order to reduce the amount of superfluous timber that it contains, but by ringing every tree in it that ought either to be lopped or to be cut down, and by sending in the woodmen with axes to perform the task. But, I may be asked, what is going to come out of all this? Will not this reformatory zeal soon die down, and be replaced by the normal apathy? Who is going to secure continuity either of energy or plan? I observe that this was the tone of a recent gathering in England that met to discuss this question. A large number of Indian officers of authority and experience attended, and they were all good enough to say that our reforms were excellent, but a good many added that they would be ephemeral. Indeed, one gentleman said that no permanent reform would ever originate in India. Let us wait and see. I at any rate do not mean to be put off by these counsels of despondency and despair. As I said in the Government Resolution, there is no reason why a good practice should not endure just as well as a bad practice, if once it be given a fair start; and I think I have a right to appeal for the co-operation of every officer of Government, from a Governor to a Deputy Collector, to see that that start is given. It is true that Viceroys are fleeting phantoms, whose personality is transient, and whose term is soon over. But this is a work in which is involved not the prestige or the whim of an individual, but the entire credit of British rule in India; and it is even more to the interest of every local administration that it should continue than it can be to mine.

Fifthly comes the great change in our Currency system, to which I have already adverted, and which is now in the second year of successful and tranquil operation. It is, I think, a considerable thing to have escaped for so long from

all the inconveniences and troubles arising from an unstable and fluctuating exchange. It was fatal to accuracy of financial forecasting, and it was in the highest degree prejudicial to trade. We are now all settling down to a 16d. rupee as if it had existed since the beginning of time, and we make our calculations upon a basis of reasonable certainty. Even the prospects of a redundant circulation of rupees, by which some are frightened, are rendered innocuous by the Gold Reserve Fund which we have established upon the advice of Sir E. Law, and which is to hold in reserve the gold with which to meet any sudden plethora in the silver coinage. It really seems as though India were entering upon a period of reasonable stability as regards currency ; and this new and happy era, which was inaugurated by Mr. Dawkins, may, I hope, be converted into a settled tradition by his successor.

One of the objects with which I have always welcomed the introduction of the Gold Standard, placing India as it does in closer contact, and upon even terms, with the money market of Great Britain, has been the hope that it might accelerate the flow of capital to this country in industrial and other undertakings. This will not come all with a rush ; but I think that I see signs that the movement is spreading. And this brings me to the sixth subject, upon which I have bestowed close attention, and to which I have been anxious to communicate a positive impetus. I allude to Railways, and I speak not merely of railway construction, but of railway policy and of railway finance. I remember, before I came out to India, saying that I hoped that 25,000 miles would be completed in my time. I erred on the side of caution. Though we have had to deal with a curtailed programme in consequence mainly of famine, this total has already been reached and passed. When I made my first Budget speech the total length of open lines was 22,500. It is now 25,155. In the last two years our railway account has, for the first time in the history of Indian railways, exhibited a net surplus—a result which must be very gratifying to my hon. colleague Sir A. Trevor, who has administered the Public Works Department with so much acumen for five years ; and we are proposing in the

forthcoming year to spend over $10\frac{1}{4}$ crores upon railways, as compared with $8\frac{1}{2}$ crores during the past year of famine, and 9 crores in the preceding year.¹

But here I am confronted by a point to which I must make a passing allusion. I observe that a question has been raised as to whether the increase in railways is not an injury rather than a gain to India, and whether by carrying away the food supplies of the country in times of plenty, they do not leave the raiyat impoverished and exhausted when famine comes. It has been suggested, in consequence, that if we do not stop our railways, which are supposed to swell our exports, we ought to restrict the latter. Inasmuch as these arguments appear to me to involve a fallacy of the first order, and to rest upon presumptions for which there is no foundation, I may perhaps halt for a moment in order to expose them. The first of these presumptions is that our export of food-grains is largely upon the increase, and that this increase has been in the main caused by railways. There is no ground for this hypothesis. The total export of food-grains from India between 1880 and 1890 was 22,687,000 tons; between 1890 and 1900, 23,257,000 tons, or an average annual increase during the second decade of only 57,000 tons over the first. Had the exports increased in proportion to the extension of railways, the volume of trade in the second decade would have been half as much again as that in the first. In the last year the grain export has been far below the average of any previous year. The second presumption is that a large proportion of the total grain produce of India is exported. This again is not the case. Out of a total estimated production of 73,000,000 tons, little more than 3 per cent is exported, and if rice be excluded, less than 2 per cent, the bulk of the export being wheat, which is not the food of the people in time of famine. If then we place a check upon exports in order to provide the population with more grain when famine comes, all that we shall do will be to ruin Burma, which lives upon its great export of rice to India, notably in times of famine, and to deprive the wheat grower of the Punjab of the market which railways have created for him.

¹ Compare this with Lord Curzon's final statement just before he left India, p. 283.

As a matter of fact, what was the old system which railways are alleged to have destroyed and which we are now invited in some quarters to re-establish? It was the plan of grain storage in ordinary years against the years of drought. This was a possible and a desirable system in the days of no communications. Each district had then to be self-sufficing, because it was landlocked. With the spread of railways such a policy has become a costly and a useless anachronism. The storage system itself was attended by the gravest drawbacks, which have now apparently been forgotten. Rice is a grain which will not easily admit of being preserved. Even the drier grains are apt to moulder under such conditions, and when the grain-pits of the Deccan were opened in 1897, a great deal of bad grain was thrust upon the market and caused wide-spread disease. Again, it seems to be forgotten that the grain-pit usually has a private owner, and that the price at which he will consent to open and sell is not determined by the needs of the public, but by the interests of his own pocket. Under the storage system the most startling fluctuations of prices occurred even in adjoining districts. Grain was at famine prices in one place, while it was lying rotting upon the ground in another. Every one knows the story of the Madras beach in 1876. Take the case again of Raipur in the Central Provinces under this system. In 1861 wheat was selling at 84 seers for the rupee, in 1863 at 32, in 1868 at 20, in 1869 at 15, in 1876 at $5\frac{3}{4}$, in 1878 at $19\frac{1}{2}$.

If anybody tells me that this is a condition of affairs good for the cultivator, or the consumer, or for trade, or for the Government of India, I must take leave to doubt his sanity. Now, as against this, what have railways done? They have equalised the prices all round. They have given to the landlocked districts access to external markets in times of plenty, and they have brought the produce of those markets to their doors in times of need. It must be remembered that the whole of India is, fortunately, never afflicted at the same time by famine. There are always flourishing parts to feed the parts that are famishing. In the old days the inhabitants of the latter consumed the grain in their pits, and then laid down and died. Now imported grain

keeps alive the whole population. I gave just now the experience of Raipur under the old conditions. Let me tell hon. members what it has been under the new. I will quote the words of the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Fraser,¹ with reference to the recent famine. "It is impossible," he writes, "to overestimate the benefits which railway extension has conferred upon the province. If Chattisgarh, for instance, had not been opened up by railways, it is horrifying to think of what might have occurred. The recent extensions of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway poured in supplies of the cheap scalped rice of Orissa, which penetrated far into the interior. In 1897 this source of supply was wanting, and the more expensive rice from Burma was the chief food-stuff brought in. In the famine of 1897, when exports were carried away in the early months, the Chattisgarh people pointed to the railways as an exaggeration of their ills. In this famine they have regarded them as their salvation. Within one year the railways have brought into the province grain enough to feed three millions of people for a year." Now this is a very instructive quotation; for it shows how in 1897, when the Chattisgarh people held fairly large stocks, they resented the depletion of these by the railway and a rise in prices later on. On the other hand, in 1899 there was in over two-thirds of Chattisgarh no crop at all. Where, I wonder, in such a case would the grain-pits have been? On this occasion, had it not been for the railway, the entire population would have perished like flies. Storage may for a time supply a restricted area. It never has saved, and never will save, a district or a province.

There remains the third fallacy, as I regard it, that railways have raised prices to a prohibitive level. I can discover no ground for this allegation. The export trade in food-grains cannot have produced any such result because I have shown it to be infinitesimal. Railways themselves cannot raise prices; their tendency is to equalise them. Prices may rise from an increase of demand over supply—that is, by the increase in the number of those to be fed or in the standard of living. But railways are not accountable for this consequence. It has been due in India to a

¹ Afterwards Sir A. Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

number of economic causes to which I need not now refer, and, before we set it down as a hardship, we should have to inquire whether there had not been a corresponding increase in the purchasing power of the population.

I therefore shall certainly not be deterred by any of these economic heresies from a steadfast policy of railway construction in my time. I regard railways as a blessing to this country as a whole, and as the most unifying agency that exists in India. Indeed I would like to go farther, and to free railway policy and finance from many of the shackles by which it is now hampered. Almost ever since I came here I have been examining this question, and we have been trying, by discussion amongst ourselves and with the Secretary of State, whether we cannot do what the Hon. Mr. Ashton has urged us to do, namely, find some means of separating railway finance from general finance, or for putting productive railways which pay more than the interest charges on their capital into a category apart from precarious or unremunerative concerns. It is easy enough to make out a good case on paper; but it is difficult to construct a workable scheme in practice. In the long run the money for railways has been raised by loan, whether in England or in India, and the greater part of it has to be spent in India in rupees. The one is a question of borrowing, the other of ways and means for expenditure. Both questions fall at once within the range of the financial operations of Government. Sir E. Law, however, is not less interested than myself in this question, and we hope to carry it to a successful issue. I have no time on the present occasion to speak of the steps which I have taken by the institution of a Travelling Railway Commission, which has already done valuable work, and by the publication of an annual summary of all the railway proposals before us and of the attitude of Government towards them, to take the public into our confidence, and to conduct railway development in this country on commercial rather than departmental lines. I hope to carry these efforts even further by means which I have in view; but already I claim that we have made not inconsiderable progress.

Side by side with railways in India we always consider

the subject of Irrigation ; and this is the seventh branch of administrative policy in which I have been most desirous to initiate a positive advance.

[Here followed a paragraph about Irrigation, which has been extracted and inserted under that head.]

Eighth among the problems that I hinted at two years ago was the vexed question of the increasing Indebtedness of the agricultural population, and the extent to which the land is passing out of their hands into those of the money-lending class. We have already dealt with the question in the Punjab by the Land Alienation Bill which was passed last autumn. That Bill was an act of innovation, but it was also an act of courage. It was to me a matter of surprise that so many organs of native opinion should have combined to attack a measure which was exclusively based on considerations of public interest, and to which, whether it succeeds or fails, it was impossible to attribute a selfish motive. The same problem meets us elsewhere in ever-increasing volume and seriousness, and each case will require to be considered upon its own merits.

Two years ago, in reply to the Hon. Sir Allan Arthur,¹ I promised to take up the question of a reduction in the present high rate of Telegraphic charges between India and Europe, which I described as inimical to trade and intercourse, and as obsolete and anomalous in itself. He has reverted to the subject in tones of anguish this afternoon. I had hoped long before now to be able to announce the successful termination of the negotiations which we undertook in prompt redemption of my pledge. My view was that no reform would be worth having that did not provide for a reduction of at least 50 per cent in the present charges. Our negotiations were so far successful that we did persuade the companies to agree to an immediate reduction to 2s. 6d. a word, with a prospective reduction to 2s. a word as soon as the increase of traffic justified it ; and in order to secure this end we undertook to give a very liberal guarantee from Indian funds. So far all went well. But since then the matter has been hung up, owing to clauses in the Telegraphic Conventions which require the assent to any change

¹ *Vide* p. 68.

of rate of certain foreign powers through whose territories the wires are laid. This situation is engaging the earnest attention of His Majesty's Government. It is to my mind an intolerable position that telegraphic communication between England and India, and the rates at which it is conducted, should be at the mercy of other parties, and I think that some way out of the difficulty will have to be found that will make Great Britain the mistress of her own principal lines of connection. I shall hope to see the reduction of which I have spoken realised in my time. But I may add an expression of my private opinion that the matter will not be satisfactorily or finally settled, and that there will not be the maximum development of traffic between the two countries until the rate has been reduced to 1s. per word. That change will not come yet awhile, and we shall probably only reach it by gradual stages. But it will assuredly one day come, and I commend it to the reformers of the future.

I may mention among other matters that have engaged our attention, and in which we have made material progress during the past two years, the preservation of Archæological remains in this country. I have often emphasised what I conceive to be the duty of Government in this respect, and everywhere that I have been throughout India on tour I have made a most careful inspection of the famous or beautiful buildings of the past, and have given orders as to their repair or preservation. We have addressed the Secretary of State as to a more liberal provision for this object in the future, and as to the appointment of a Director-General of Archæology, and we hope before long to introduce a Bill that will provide for the safe keeping of historic monuments, and will prevent the removal of antiquarian treasures and relics from our shores.

There is one subject upon which I have never hitherto spoken one word in India, because it is one of much delicacy, but to which I desire to-day to devote a few passing remarks. I speak of the relations between British soldiers and the natives of this country. The friends of the soldiers are greatly in error if they believe that there is the least wish to place harsh restrictions upon them, or to deprive them of reasonable openings for sport and recreation. On the

contrary, it is desired to give them such openings in the fullest manner compatible with the discipline and routine of military life, and as a well-earned relief therefrom. On the other hand, it is impossible for those who are entrusted with the Government to view with equanimity any risk to these relations arising from carelessness, or ignorance, or lack of restraint. That such risk has in many cases arisen it is impossible to deny. I make no attempt to apportion the blame. Sometimes there may have been rashness resulting in collision on one side. I have heard of conspiracy culminating in attack upon the other. What we, as a Government, have to do is to minimise the opportunities for such friction and to induce mutual self-respect. For such a purpose strict rules are required, and strict attention to the rules when formulated.

Now upon this point I wish to be especially clear. The civil and the military authorities have been and are absolutely united in the matter. The responsibility is shared between them. It cannot be shifted from the shoulders of one party to those of the other. The head of the civil administration could not in a matter of discipline act in independence of the military authorities. They, on the other hand, make a point of co-operating with the civil power. There is no single rule now in operation as regards the reporting or trial or treatment of cases or otherwise which has not emanated from the military authorities in the first place. There is no measure, proceeding, or step which has not been taken upon their authority and with their full consent. When the Shooting Rules were revised last autumn, the task was entrusted to a Committee upon which the military and civil elements were equally represented, and, further, one of the civilians was an old military officer. Their report, and the rules as revised by them, were accepted without demur by the Government of India.¹ I make these remarks, because

¹ The Shooting Rules are a body of Regulations drawn up by the Government of India, specifying the conditions under which British soldiers may go out with guns or rifles in pursuit of game. It was found that the majority of the collisions between soldiers and natives, and the sometimes very serious accidents resulting therefrom, arose from ignorance or neglect of the Rules by the soldiers, from their imperfect nature, or from failure to enforce them on the part of the authorities. Hence the appointment of the Committee here referred to. The

it cannot be too widely known that there has existed throughout this unity of action, and because I have seen or heard of the most erroneous allegations to the contrary effect. I remember a case in which a local Government reported to us what it called a gross miscarriage of justice in a trial for the murder of a punkah coolie. The civil authority does not exist to rectify the errors that may be committed in a court of law, and there was, unfortunately, nothing to be done. Some time later the Commander-in-Chief, having satisfied himself that the acquitted party had so conducted himself as to be unfit to wear Her Majesty's uniform, decided to dismiss him from the Army. This proposal was submitted to, and of course received the sanction of the Government of India, who would not interfere in a disciplinary matter with the supreme military authority. Forthwith arose an ignorant outcry that the civil power had usurped the functions of a final court of judicial revision. I merely mention this case as typical of the misunderstandings that are apt to prevail in these matters. I will only say for the Government, that our attitude has been in every case one of the most scrupulous impartiality. Our one desire is to draw closer the bonds of friendly feeling that should unite the two races whom Providence has placed side by side in this country; and I venture to assert that no higher motive could inspire any body of men who are charged with the terribly responsible task of Indian administration.

There remain a number of subjects, high up in the list of the original dozen, upon which we are still busily engaged, but as to which we have not found time as yet to carry our views to fruition. First among these I would name Educational Reform, the placing of Education in India, in its various branches, University, higher, secondary, technical, and elementary, upon a definite and scientific footing, and the clear determination of the relations between private enterprise and the State. This great object has been for a long time occupying my attention, and I hope that we may be able to deal with it in the forthcoming summer or autumn.

utmost care is now taken to acquaint the soldier with the conditions under which shooting is permitted, and to ensure that due precautions are taken for the protection of native life and crops.

Another matter that is one of anxious preoccupation to us is the reform of the Police. Grave abuses have crept into this branch of the service, and are responsible for administrative and judicial shortcomings that are generally deplored, besides producing a wide-spread and legitimate discontent. We have already sanctioned very considerable improvements, notably in the direction of securing a better class of man in the higher grades at a superior rate of pay, both in the Punjab, the North - Western Provinces, and Bengal. I will say no more at present than that the matter is one into which I hope to go more deeply.

There are a number of other subjects which fall within my category, but of which I prefer not to speak at present lest I might arouse false expectations. There are others, again, which can seldom be absent from the mind of any ruler of India, and to which, though he must speak with caution upon them, there is no need why he should not refer. The possibility of fiscal reforms, leading, if circumstances permit, to a reduction of taxation, is an object that is always in the background of his imagination. The protection and scientific propagation of Agriculture, for which we have instituted a separate office of Inspector-General, the possible institution of agricultural banks, the question of assessments, the fostering of native handicrafts, and the encouragement of industrial exploitation in general—these are all aspects of the larger question of the economic development of the country upon which my colleagues and myself are bestowing the most assiduous attention. *Salus populi suprema lex*; and all the reforms to which I have been alluding are, after all, subsidiary to the wider problem of how best to secure the happiness and prosperity of the helpless millions.

Upon this subject I should like to add a few words which I hope may tend to dissipate the too pessimistic views that appear to prevail in some quarters. There exists a school that is always proclaiming to the world the sad and increasing poverty of the Indian cultivator, and that depicts him as living upon the verge of economic ruin. If there were truth in this picture I should not be deterred by any false pride from admitting it. I should, on the contrary, set about remedying it to the best of my power at once. Wherever

I go I endeavour to get to the bottom of this question, and I certainly do not fail to accept the case of our critics from any unwillingness to study it. In my Famine speech at Simla last October, in making a rough and ready assumption as to the agricultural income of India, I based myself upon the figures that were collected by the Famine Commission of 1880 and that were published in 1882. The agricultural income of India was calculated at that date as 350 crores, and at Simla I spoke of it as being now between 350 and 400 crores.¹ Thereupon I found my authority quoted in some quarters for the proposition that the agricultural wealth of the country had remained stationary for twenty years, while the population had gone on increasing by leaps and bounds. The further and equally erroneous assumption followed that there had been no rise in the interim in the non-agricultural income of the community ; and I found myself cited as the parent of the astonishing statement that the average income of every inhabitant of India had sunk from Rs. 27 in 1882 to Rs. 22 in ordinary years, and to Rs. $17\frac{1}{2}$ in 1900—the inference, of course, being drawn that, while Nero has been fiddling, the town is burning.

I have since made more detailed inquiries into the matter. There are certain preliminary propositions to which I think that every one must assent. In every country that is so largely dependent upon agriculture there comes a time, and it must come in India, when the average agricultural income per head ceases to expand for two reasons—first, that the population goes on increasing ; second, that the area of fresh ground available for cultivation does not increase *pari passu*, but is taken up and thereby exhausted. When this point is reached, it is of no good to attack the Government for its inability to fight the laws of nature. What a prudent Government endeavours to do is to increase its non-agricultural sources of income. It is for this reason that I welcome, as I have said to-day, the investment of capital and the employment of labour upon railways and canals, in factories, workshops, and mills, in coal mines and metalliferous mines, on tea and sugar and indigo plantations. All these are fresh outlets for industry, and they

¹ *i.e.* between 230 and 260 millions sterling. *Vide*, p. 382.

diminish *pro tanto* the strain upon the agricultural population. That they are bringing money into the country and circulating it to and fro is evident from the immense increase in railway traffic both of goods and passengers, in postal and telegraph and money order business, in imports from abroad, and in the extraordinary amount of the precious metals that is absorbed by the people. These are not the symptoms of a decaying or of an impoverished population.

Turning, however, to Agriculture alone, concerning which the loudest lamentations are uttered, I have had worked out for me, from figures collected for the Famine Commission of 1898, the latest estimate of the value of the agricultural production of India. I find that in my desire to be on the safe side I underrated the total in my Simla speech. I then said between 350 and 400 crores. The total is 450 crores.¹ The calculations of 1880 showed an average agricultural income of Rs. 18 per head. If I take the figures of the recent census for the same area as was covered by the earlier computation, which amount to 223 millions, I find that the agricultural income has actually increased, notwithstanding the growth in the population, and the increasingly stationary tendency of that part of the national income which is derived from agriculture; and that the average per head is Rs. 20, or Rs. 2 higher than in 1880. If I then assume—and I know of no reason why I should not—indeed I think it an underestimate—that the non-agricultural income has increased in the same ratio, the average income will be Rs. 30 per head as against Rs. 27 in 1880.

I do not say that these data are incontrovertible. There is an element of the conjectural in them; but so there was in the figures of 1880. The uncertainty in both is precisely the same, and if one set of figures is to be used in the argument, equally may the other. Again, I do not claim that these calculations represent any very brilliant or gratifying result. We cannot be very happy in the face of the recent census, which shows an increase of population so much less than we had anticipated—a falling off which is no doubt due in the main to the sufferings through which India has passed, and which by so much reduces the denominator in our

¹ I.e. 300 millions sterling.

fraction. But at least these figures show that the movement is for the present distinctly in a forward, and not in a retrograde direction, that there is more money, and not less money in the country, and that the standard of living among the poorer classes is going up and not down. Above all, they suggest that our critics should at least hold their judgment in suspense before they pronounce with so much warmth either upon the failure of the Indian Government or upon the deepening poverty of the people.

There is one point, however, in these calculations where we are upon very firm ground. In 1880 there were only 194 millions of acres under cultivation in India. There are now 217 millions, or an increase in virtually the same ratio as the increase in population. This alone would tend to show that there can have been no diminution of agricultural income per head of the people. The case for increase results from the increased standards of yield between 1880 and 1898. Perhaps the earlier estimates were too low. That I cannot say. The fact remains that the 1880 figures showed a yield per acre of food crops in British India of 730 lbs.; those of 1898 show a yield of 840 lbs. In some cases this will be due to improved cultivation, perhaps more frequently to extended irrigation. They are satisfactory so far as they go; for they show that the agricultural problem has not yet got the better of our rapidly increasing population. But they also show how dangerous it will be in the future if India, with this increase going on within, continues to rely mainly upon agriculture, and how important it is to develop our irrigational resources as the most efficient factor in an increase of agricultural production.

I have now brought to a termination this review of the present position in India and of the policy and attitude of Government. I have, I hope, extenuated nothing and exaggerated nothing. I am a believer in taking the public into the confidence of Government. The more they know, the more we may rely upon their support. I might have added that the policy which I have sketched has been pursued at a time when we have had to contend with a violent recrudescence of plague and with a terrible and desolating famine. But these facts are known to every one in this Chamber, and

an allowance will be made by every fair-minded person for conditions so unfavourable to advance or prosperity in administration. Should our troubles pass away, I hope that in future years I may be able to fill in with brighter colours the picture which I have delineated to-day, and to point to a realisation of many of our projects which still remain untouched or unfulfilled.

FOURTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 26, 1902

We have had a somewhat discursive discussion; and as people are, as a rule, discursive only when they are in a good temper, I hope I may conclude that the second Budget of Sir E. Law is one that in its broad outlines has caused general satisfaction. There are several features of it which deserve to produce that result. The conversion of a modest into a handsome surplus in 1901-2, even if we have been assisted by good fortune, is itself gratifying. But even eliminating the accidental element from this expansion, and allowing for the caution with which my honourable friend framed his estimates a year ago, there remains in the elasticity exhibited by our main heads of revenue, and in the steady growth of receipts from those sources which indicate purchasing power and prosperity, sufficient cause for temperate congratulation. It is a great thing, for instance, to know that, after years of adversity and unfavourable criticism, we have finally turned the corner as regards our Railways, and that, in addition to the innumerable benefits which they have brought to all classes in the country, they are now a steady recurring source of profit to the Indian taxpayer. During the three years since I took over my present office, more than 3000 miles of railroad have been opened in India. Over 2000 additional miles are under actual or impending construction, and we are gradually filling up the blank spaces in the map and the more obvious gaps in the public needs. The increased

receipts, not merely from the main imports, such as cotton, sugar, silver, and mineral oils, but from post office, income-tax, stamps, excise,—those sources, in fact, which I agree with Sir E. Law in regarding as evidence of an improving margin of wealth and comfort in the country,—point in the same direction. I know that it does not do to be too cheerful in Indian finance, partly because of the vicissitudes to which we are liable, and still more because any one who dares to be cheerful is at once described as an optimist ; and an optimist in respect of Indian financial or economic progress appears to be regarded in some quarters as a dangerous character. No one, I think, can charge me with having been an offender in that respect. But in the Budget speeches which I have delivered from this chair, and of which this is now the fourth, I can point with satisfaction to the fact that the hopeful forecasts in which I have from time to time indulged have in no case been falsified, while, when I said last year that India was already beginning to tread upon a brighter and happier pathway, I could not have wished for a more ample vindication of my remark than the Budget Statement which twelve months later has been laid upon this table.

However, when a Government finds itself in possession of large balances, the world is always more interested to know what they are going to do with them than how they got them ; and I turn, accordingly, to the manner in which we have decided to dispose of our surplus funds. There are three methods of dealing with a surplus other than hoarding it : the first is to reduce taxation, the second is to increase administrative expenditure, and the third is to give relief to suffering classes or interests. Do not let it be supposed that, before deciding to adopt the second and third, we did not most carefully and exhaustively consider the first. Every Government, every Viceroy, and every Finance Minister must wish to reduce taxation, if they honestly and conscientiously can. We are not above those feelings ; and, for my own part, if the conditions of our finance continue to improve, I entertain reasonable hopes of being able to recommend such a reduction before I leave this country. The Hon. Mr. Charlu said that he had never known a tax

imposed in this country and afterwards taken off. He forgot that only an hour or two earlier he himself and all of us had voted for the abolition of the Pandhri-tax in the Central Provinces. But the questions which we had to ask ourselves on the present occasion were these: Are the burdens imposed upon the community by existing taxation so heavy as to stand in urgent need of mitigation? Is our position sufficiently assured to enable us to make what must be a permanent sacrifice of revenue, and to make it on a sufficient scale to relieve the people upon whom it presses with greatest weight? After a period of exceptional distress that has been confined to distant parts of the country, is a reduction of taxation which is bound to be general, rather than partial, in its application, the best method of setting the sufferers upon their legs again? We could not truthfully answer these questions in the affirmative. Though we have had surpluses now for three years, we could not say with absolute confidence that we have entered upon an era of assured annual surpluses. There is still a good deal of distress, and of conditions bordering upon famine, in other parts of India, and we all felt that we should like to see the outcome of the next monsoon. Again, we convinced ourselves upon inquiry that, even if we had run the risk and had reduced taxation, we should not have brought our charity home to those who most need it with the directness that we desired. A good deal of the sacrifice would have been spent upon classes and persons who, though they would have welcomed the relief, and though we might have been glad to give it, do not stand in real want. I do not share the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's views on our taxation. I do not believe that its total burden presses with cruelty upon the people. If the hon. member were to transfer his residence to any European country, I expect that he would very soon be back again here with altered views about fiscal matters. In the case of taxes affecting the entire community, it is further certain that, unless the reduction were on a very large scale indeed, the benefit would never reach the consumers at all. Sir E. Law, in his reply, has given the figures of what a substantial reduction of the salt-tax would mean. I wonder if half the speakers and writers who so

glibly recommend it have worked out what it would cost, and have paused to consider whether we could, in the present year, have afforded such a sacrifice. It is a question of capacity much more than of inclination. When the sacrifice entailed is to be reckoned not in lakhs, but in crores, the critics of Government can afford to be generous, because they have no responsibility; but Government, which is responsible, is bound to be circumspect.

We did not, however, come to our decision without consulting the heads of local administrations, and we found that, without an exception, they were in favour of relief in preference to reduction. The point upon which we laid the greatest stress was that relief, if given, should be given to the needy. Now the neediest among the needy in British India are, as no one will dispute, the cultivators who, in Bombay, the Punjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and the British district of Ajmer, have, during the past two years, been so grievously smitten by famine. We ascertained that the total arrears of land revenue already suspended in these areas was just short of 2 crores, or a sum of £1,320,000. We therefore resolved to wipe off the whole of these arrears by a stroke of the pen. It would have taken three or four years to collect this sum, and a good deal of it, no doubt, would have never been collected at all. We thought it better, however, to remove all doubt upon the matter by writing off the entire debt, and by compensating the local governments for the portion of it that would, in ordinary circumstances, have fallen to their share. I have not yet heard of anybody, and there has been no one in this debate, who has seriously questioned the propriety of this decision. Looking to all that we have gone through, and may perhaps have to go through again, I am not going to claim this as a Prosperity Budget. But I do emphatically claim it as a Poor Man's Budget and a Peasant's Budget, and it has been a source of the greatest pleasure to my colleagues and myself to be able to evince our sympathy with those classes in this practical form. I was glad to hear from the Hon. Mr. Bose, who is such a firm friend of their interests, that our gift has been received with deep gratitude.

Our second object was to set going again, at a becoming rate of speed, the administrative machine in the various provinces. Owing to the strain of the past few years, the stokers have everywhere been stinting their fuel in the furnaces, and the engines have not been going at much more than half speed. Every branch of administration has suffered in consequence—education, police, public works, sanitation. This gradual deterioration is, in the long run, fatal to efficiency, for the machine itself gets rusty and unequal to its maximum capacity, while the engineers become indifferent and slack. Our first proceeding was, out of the large realised surplus of the past year, to assign 40 lakhs, or £266,000, as grants-in-aid to those provinces, viz. Bombay, Madras, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab, where the suspension of work had been most marked and most serious. This was for non-recurring expenditure, intended to restore the provincial administrations to the normal level of capacity and outturn. Our next step was to provide the provinces in general with the materials for the fresh burst of activity which we desire to press upon them, by grants from our anticipated surplus of the ensuing financial year. With this object we have given them a further 90 lakhs, or £600,000. Of this, 40 lakhs are to be devoted to education. A good deal of this will clearly be non-recurring expenditure. But we entertain such strong views about the need of a greater outlay upon education, and the measures which we already have in hand, or are about to undertake, for the expansion of every branch of educational effort in India must require such a continuous expenditure, that the charge is not likely to be reduced in succeeding years. The remaining 50 lakhs we have given to public works and sanitation, in both of which respects progress has been arrested in many quarters, and to making up the deficiencies in provincial establishments; of these 50 lakhs it is estimated that 30 will be recurring. I have been glad to hear from the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal so frank a testimony to the wisdom as well as the generosity of our policy in this respect. It is quite a new sensation for the Government of India to be applauded as the fond parent of a large family of devoted though impecunious

children. I only hope that the experience will not be a short-lived one, and that the local Governments in their gratitude for our bounty will not fail to exercise the greatest vigilance and economy in its distribution.

Finally, we decided not to wait for the Report of the Irrigation Commission, but to devote an additional sum of 25 lakhs to minor works, such as tanks and wells, over and beyond the grant for larger works, which has been kept, since I have been in India, at the annual figure of one crore. My hon. colleague pointed out in his opening statement that if we add to these the sum given from the Famine Insurance Grant for unproductive works, we shall be spending upon irrigation in the following year a total capital outlay of 139 lakhs, or £927,000—a sufficient answer, I hope, to any who may hitherto have suspected the Indian Government of indifference to this most pressing need.

I have now explained and defended the financial policy which has found expression in this Budget; and I claim for it that, though alternative methods of spending our money might have been forthcoming, no means could have been devised better calculated to diffuse its benefits through every part of the country, or to carry the sorely needed relief more swiftly to the necessitous spots. I pass to a consideration of the general policy which has been pursued by the Government of India during the past twelve months, and of the degree of advance that has been made on the path that we have chalked out for ourselves.

A year ago I gave an indication in outline of the various projects that we have in view. I should like, if I have time while in India, to place upon the anvil every branch of Indian policy and administration, to test its efficiency and durability, and, if possible, do something for its improvement; always bearing in mind that there is no finality in India or anywhere else, and that the utmost that any one Government or head of a Government can effect is to hand over the administrative machine to the next comer with all its parts intact and in good working order, capable of answering the fullest requirements that the conditions of the time are likely to impose. We have, I think, made substantial progress in several directions.

[Here followed a passage about Frontier Policy and the Frontier Province that is printed under that heading.]

During the past year the Imperial Cadet Corps, which is a dear child of mine, has started into being. We have without difficulty selected over twenty young men from the princely and aristocratic families of all India, drawing them from districts as far apart as Hyderabad, Vizianagram, the Frontier, Rajputana, and Kathiawar. The Corps includes four Ruling Chiefs, who have come to us at their own wish.¹ The discipline and training provided are in the main military, and the standard of living enforced is simple and strict. I am hopeful that in this institution we shall have found a means of providing honourable employment for selected scions of the Indian aristocracy, and of training the pick of their number so as to qualify for future military rank and service.

[Here followed a passage about Military Administration, which is printed under that heading.]

I am happy to be able to record the fact that we have in the past year secured that reduction in the Telegraphic rates between Europe and India for which I undertook to press three years ago. It is not as large a reduction as I should personally have liked or as will one day come. But we have secured a conditional promise of a further reduction from 2s. 6d. to 2s. a word if the returns from traffic are found to justify it.² I should like also to find time to consider the question raised by the Hon. Mr. Turner, of telegraphic charges within this country, which seem to me to admit of some reform.³

It is gratifying to find that the policy which we initiated here three years ago of combating by such means as lay in our power the inequitable system of Sugar Bounties has not been without its effect upon public opinion elsewhere. I do not doubt that it has played its part in contributing towards the practical abolition of those bounties, which has been the

¹ They were the Maharajas of Jodhpore and Kishengarh, the Nawab of Jaora, and the Raja of Rutlam. Other Ruling Chiefs have since passed through the Imperial Cadet Corps.

² This took place in 1905.

³ This was carried out in 1904. *Vide* p. 285.

result of the recent Brussels Conference, and which is one among many evidences of the shrewd and tactful diplomacy of Lord Lansdowne. The Convention has not yet been ratified by the Legislatures of foreign Powers, and until it comes into operation we must continue our precautions here. We must also be on our guard that the real objects of the agreement are not evaded by indirect bounties in one or other of many forms.

Passing to the sphere of internal administration, there are many respects in which we can claim that distinct progress has been made. The singularly able Report of Sir Antony MacDonnell and his colleagues upon the Famine Commission of last year has enabled us to frame definite rules upon many disputed points of famine policy and procedure; and we are, I hope, in process of evolving a Famine Code of general acceptance, which will guide our officers in future struggles.

In the course of last summer we completed a most careful and searching survey of the whole of our Land Revenue policy, and we endeavoured, in answer to our critics, to furnish to the world no mere departmental defence of our methods and objects, but a serious and conscientious examination of the subject of assessments in relation to the various parts of India, and to define the lines of broad and generous treatment in the future. Our pronouncement was not an academic treatise, meant to be read, or perhaps skipped, and then forgotten. We intend it to be a rule of guidance to the local administrations; and on points where doubt exists, or where the local practice does not appear to be in accordance with the principles laid down, we have addressed them with a view to ensuring conformity in the future. I am grateful for the reception that this document has met with from the public, which has more than repaid me for the months of labour that were devoted to the task. I hope that it has removed some misconceptions and dispelled some doubts.¹

I have already mentioned the large grants that we are making in the forthcoming year to Education. These are

¹ The allusion is to the Resolution on Land Revenue policy, which was passed in January 1902, and which was

the prelude to a policy of educational reform that was inaugurated with the deliberations of the Simla Conference last year, that is now being further investigated in respect of University education—a most important branch of the subject—by the Commission that is sitting under the presidency of the Legal Member, and that will not stop until it has embraced every branch of educational activity, secondary, primary, technical, industrial, and commercial. In all these respects money has been grudged in the past, and effort has been wasted or diffused, in the main from want of a definite plan. I conceive that a ruler could not bequeath to India a better legacy than the introduction of system, shape, and consistency into that which has hitherto been somewhat formless and void. Upon every one of the particulars that I have named the local Governments have been addressed: their opinions have been invited as to positive suggestions and definite needs; and before another year has passed I hope that we may appear before the Indian public with a concrete policy that will communicate to Education in its various branches an impetus that will not quickly faint or fade away. A Director-General of Education has arrived from England to act as adviser to the Government of India, and to assure that continuous interest in the matter at headquarters which has sometimes been lacking.¹ There is only one consideration that I would ask the public to bear steadily in mind. Education, if it is to be reformed, must be reformed for education's sake, not for the sake of political interests, or racial interests, or class interests, or personal interests. If that golden rule be borne in mind, both by the Government and the public, we shall get through. If it be forgotten, then the most strenuous of efforts may be choked with disappointment, or may perish in recriminations.

Throughout the past cold weather the most momentous of our recent Commissions has been taking evidence in different parts of India upon the question of future extensions of Irrigation in this country. The figures that I have previously quoted will have reflected the general sympathy with which the Government of India regard a

¹ Mr. H. W. Orange. *Vide* p. 350.

policy of unhesitating, even if it be sometimes experimental, advance in this direction. So vast is the field, so complex the subject, so enormously important may be the results, that a second cold weather will be required before the Commission has completed its labours. I warn the country that its report will mean the expenditure of money, perhaps of much money, in the future; and I invite those gentlemen who are so keen upon extensive reductions of taxation, and who are probably also among the foremost champions of a generous policy of irrigation, to pause a little, and think whether there is perfect consistency in their attitude. I say boldly that my policy in India involves the spending, though not, I hope, the waste, of money. You cannot have reforms and not pay for them. I shall hope to leave administration in India more efficient than I found it. But I shall assuredly not do so unless I add, I do not say to the relative, but to the aggregate expense.

There are several questions which we have upon the stocks, and which we hope to carry forward during the ensuing year. There is the institution of Agricultural Banks, or Mutual Credit Societies, which has been alluded to by Sir E. Law. I am far from predicting confidently that this experiment will be suited to the conditions of Indian life. But at least let us try, and if we do not attain success, let it not be from failure to deserve it. Sir E. Law and I are very anxious to see a large development of steel and iron making industries in this country. India, with its great resources, ought to be far more self-sufficing than she is. One day, when we are gone, this will be a great industrial and manufacturing country, and we may be proud of having added our humble pebble to the cairn of her future prosperity. There is another respect in which we are desirous to bring our administrative mechanism more up to the level of modern requirements. This is by the institution of a Commercial Bureau, or Department of Government, which will take special charge of trade, customs, and the like, and will both advise Government and act as the intermediary between it and the mercantile public. In another direction I hope to communicate a definite stimulus, and to breathe fresh life into the ~~adminis~~ ¹¹.

perishing art industries of India, by holding an Exhibition in connection with the Coronation Durbar at Delhi in January next. I should be very sorry if that great function, even though it be one of official ceremony and national rejoicing, were mainly limited to pageantry and pleasure. I should like it to be of permanent service to the people; and it occurred to me that a better way of securing that end could not be contrived than to assemble there a collection of all the best that the Indian artificer or handicraftsman is capable of producing, so as both to appeal to the taste of the immense audience that will be gathered together, and to encourage and revive the industries themselves.¹

Lastly, there is another subject that we are about to take in hand. I spoke last year of Police Reform as one of the most urgent needs of Indian administration. The matter has not been lost sight of since, and we have recently sent home proposals to the Secretary of State for the constitution of a Commission, to concentrate into final shape and conclude the independent inquiries that we have been making, but that are at present somewhat lacking in consistency and unity, because of the very varying aspect of the problem in the different provinces. This will, I hope, be the last big Commission for the appointment of which I shall be responsible, but the work that lies before it, and that touches every home, and almost every individual in every home, in the country, will not be the least in importance. I agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that, in some respects, it will be the first.

Now I can quite believe that there will be some persons who will say that the present administration is earning a strange and abnormal repute, as one of Commissions, Committees, and inquiries. The charge is quite true. I do not for one moment dispute it. We have had a Famine Commission and a Horse-breeding Commission. We have got now at work an Irrigation Commission and a Universities Commission. We have a very alert and capable Special Commissioner who is examining into our railways;² and I

¹ *Vide* the speeches printed under the heading "Art."

² Mr. T. Robertson, who spent the years 1901-3 in examining the railway systems of India and America, and then issued his Report.

started nearly three years ago the plan of a Travelling Railway Commission, that has already visited and conducted local inquiries in several parts of India. I have myself presided over Conferences to inquire into the question of Education at large, and into the teaching and system of the Chiefs' Colleges. We have had Committees to report upon agricultural banks, upon military decentralisation, upon commissariat frauds, upon the starting of technical and industrial schools, and upon other and less important matters. And now there is the proposal of a Police Commission which I have just launched. What, it may be said, is the use of all these investigations? Are you not tending to obscure the issue and to delay action? The answer to these questions is, in my opinion, very simple. The object of all these inquiries is in every case the same, viz. to arrive at the truth. The truth ought, I suppose, theoretically to be lying about, like an exquisite shell on the sea-shore, open to the eyes of men. But in practice it is apt to be overlaid by all manner of sea-weed and sand and slime, and it has to be dug out and extricated from its covering or its surroundings. If I have undertaken the policy of reform of which I have been speaking, I positively decline to accept the responsibility until we know where we are, what are the exact features of the problem that we have to deal with, and what, on the whole, is the best that it is open for us to do. A reform in India is a change applied not to a town, or a district, or a province, or a country, but to a continent. Conceive any one proposing a new plan or a new policy for the whole of Europe—if such a thing were practicable,—and doing it without the fullest inquiry in advance— inquiry both to ascertain the dimensions and necessities of the case, and to let the various experts and authorities have their say. There is no country in which this is more essential than India, where there is always a danger that the executive authority may be out of touch with a constituency so scattered and so huge, and where, therefore, I am always insisting upon the necessity of building bridges between the Government and the people. I do not say that every Commission or Committee is everywhere invariably appointed with the objects that I have described. I have known the

opposite. They may be said indeed to fall into two categories—Commissions to shelve, and Commissions to solve. If any one thinks that any of the Indian inquiries to which I have alluded have belonged to the former class, he is greatly mistaken; and if any sleeping partner in the abuses or errors which we desire to correct is hugging to himself the illusion that these Commissions will pass by like a gust of wind, and leave no trace but a Report behind, he will suffer a rude awakening. I am a disciple of the wise man who said that words are women, but deeds are men; and though I am far from anticipating that any of our investigators will show the slightest lack of virility in their reports—the Famine Commission certainly did not—yet it is to the action taken upon their Reports, rather than to the Reports themselves, that the final weight is to be attached. Perhaps I may also add that if any one is disposed to think that the constitution of an Indian Commission, and its process from the cradle to the grave, are light and perfunctory operations, that can be airily undertaken by one who is either a dilettante or is inclined to be a shirk, he displays an extreme ignorance of the subject. There is the reference to be drawn up, involving long and anxious study, the Secretary of State to be consulted, the consent of his Council obtained, the members to be selected by a careful balance of the interests and merits, not merely of individuals, but of provinces, races, and even of creeds. Very often there is prolonged correspondence with local Governments. Then, when the work is started, references and intermediate Reports are continually coming in, which the head of the Government is compelled to study. Later on there is the Report itself, which condenses the labours perhaps of a twelve-month, and the intellectual precipitation of a multitude of minds. Then comes the detailed examination of the Report, the discussion of the extent to which it can or should be acted upon, further consultation with the Home Government, and perhaps with local Governments, and, finally, the orders of Government in a succinct form. I can assure hon. members that it needs, not indifference, but no small spirit, to start and to see through an Indian Commission from beginning to end, and I would earnestly recommend any

Viceroy who desires to have a quiet and easy time to eschew my perilous example.

Before I close this long, but not, I hope, unjustified speech, there is one subject to which I should like to make brief allusion. I daresay that hon. members are familiar with the view, to which I have often given public expression, of the part that is played by India in the Imperial system. I am myself, by instinct and by conviction, an Imperialist, and I regard the British Empire not merely as a source of honourable pride to Englishmen, but as a blessing to the world. In the picture of what the Empire is, and what it is capable of doing, India has always, in my eyes, assumed a predominant place. Her geographical position, her resources, and the part that she has played in history, are sufficient to explain this importance. But I often wonder if the outside public has any conception of the extent to which it is illustrated in the politics of the hour, or of the contributions that have been made by this great dependency to the cohesion and defence of the Empire. I should like to give to this Council a few illustrations of my meaning, derived from the experiences of the past two years.

It is, I think, generally known that it was by the loan and prompt despatch of British troops from India that Natal was saved from being overrun by the Boers at the beginning of the South African campaign. It was the holding of Ladysmith that prevented them from sweeping down to the sea. That service has been publicly acknowledged by the Commander-in-Chief in England, and by the Secretary of State for War. It is also known that it was an Indian General,¹ commanding native troops from India, that relieved the Legations at Peking; and further, that, in the absence of our European troops elsewhere, it has been by native regiments that our garrisons in China have since been supplied. But the extent or value of our contribution in either case is perhaps imperfectly understood. Since the beginning of the war in South Africa we have sent from India 13,200 British officers and men to that country, of whom 10,000 are still absent. Over 9000 natives, principally followers, have gone with them, of whom 5600 are still away. To

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China we sent 1300 British officers and men, nearly 20,000 native troops, and 17,500 native followers, of whom 10,000 native soldiers and 3500 followers are still away. I venture to say that these are very large and handsome contributions.

Then I would like to mention another respect in which we have been of service. This has been in the provision of ammunition, stores, and supplies. In these two wars we have sent out from India 21 million rounds of ammunition and 114,000 projectiles and shells, 11,000 tents, 11,000 sets of saddlery, 315,000 helmets, 169,000 blankets, 290,000 pairs of boots, 42,000 tons of fodder and rations, and 940,000 garments of various descriptions. These articles have not been required either wholly or mainly for the Indian forces. They have been ordered for all the troops in the field. The whole of them have been manufactured in this country, and the benefit has not, of course, been altogether one-sided, since their manufacture has given employment and wages to thousands of Indian artisans. During the same period we have sent out 11,600 horses, 6700 mules and ponies, and 2700 bullocks. We have also despatched small bodies of men to take part in minor campaigns that have been waged in Somaliland, Jubaland, and other parts of Africa; and we have undertaken to raise, for the Colonial Office, five native regiments for service in the Asiatic Colonies or possessions of Great Britain.

But our services do not stop short at the loan of military resources and men. India is becoming a valuable nursery of public servants in every branch of administration, upon whom foreign Governments as well as the British Empire show an increasing inclination to indent. We have over a dozen officers from India in the service of Siam. We have medical officers serving in Persia, Abyssinia, East Africa, and the Straits Settlements. We have engineers in Egypt, Nigeria, Uganda, and China. We have postal and telegraphic officers at the sources of the Nile, on the Zambesi, and at the Cape. Scarcely a week passes but I do not receive a request for the loan or gift of the services of some officer with an Indian training. This is a tribute to our system, and a striking vindication of its value.

Now, when the Empire calls upon us to make these contributions or loans, I do not pretend that on our side of the ledger is to be written only loss. Very far from it. The entire expenses of the troops while they are out of India are, of course, borne by the Imperial Government, and everything ordered from us is paid for by them. Nay more, the absence of these large bodies of men in South Africa and China for so long a period of time has resulted in the present case in very great savings to ourselves, owing to the relief of all financial responsibility for the absent units. These savings have amounted to a sum of $3\frac{1}{4}$ crores, or £2,180,000, and without them we should not have been able to embark upon the policy of military reorganisation that I have before sketched.

We, therefore, have profited as well as the Empire, although our profit has been pecuniary, while hers has been moral and material. Our gain has been due to the accident of the prolonged absence of our troops. But our contribution was made independently of any thought or prospect of gain, and was a service to the Empire. By reducing our garrisons we were content to run a certain risk—for who knows what may happen on an Asiatic frontier,—but we did it in the interests of the Empire, with whose stability our own is bound up. During the past three years it has been the constant duty of the Government of India to balance the Imperial and the Indian aspects of our obligations; and if we have been helpful to the Empire without detriment to the true interests of this country, then I am sure that there is no one who will not be willing to endorse and even to share our responsibility. We do not go upon our knees and supplicate for favours in return; but we beg that the part played by India in the Imperial system, and the services rendered by us in time of trouble, may not be forgotten by the British nation, and that they may find in it, when the occasion arises, good grounds for reciprocal generosity and help.

FIFTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)*March 25, 1903*

Among the objects that I have set before myself ever since I have been in India, and high up among the tasks of which I have sometimes spoken, has been a reduction of the burdens that rest upon the shoulders of the people. In my first Budget speech in 1899 I discussed the question of remission of taxation, and showed that the time was not yet. Then we found ourselves caught in a cyclone of famine and general suffering, and all such ideas had to be postponed. In my third Budget speech I again cautiously alluded to the matter; but, as we were still in the wood, and had not got out into the open, I dared neither to be sanguine nor prophetic. Last year we had a large surplus, and I discussed in my Budget remarks the different ways in which we might have spent it. We decided to make a substantial gift to those classes of the population who had been hardest hit in the recent visitations, and we wiped off arrears of land revenue amounting to nearly 2 crores, or a sum of £1,320,000. Now at last in my fifth year we are able to take the further step that has all along been in our minds; and my present Budget speech is the pleasantest that I have yet been called upon to deliver, since it is associated with the first serious reduction of taxation that has been made in India for twenty years.

My view about Taxation in this country has all along been this. I have never believed that, judged by any or all of the tests that are commonly and fairly applied, it is excessive or even high. I believe, on the whole, that so long as a liberal policy of remissions and suspensions of land revenue is pursued in bad times, it presses very lightly upon the people. But the material condition, or the relative acquiescence of a people is not the sole measure of what taxation should be. Otherwise there would be a good argument for squeezing everybody up to the point at which he can give forth moisture without an audible groan.

Another test which a just and liberal-minded Government cannot fail to apply is the observance of a due proportion between the revenues that are drawn from the people and the calls that are made upon them by a reasonably progressive standard of administration. When it is found that for a series of years, including years of misfortune, the revenues of a country produce a considerable annual surplus over and above what is required by administrative needs, even interpreting these in the most generous spirit, then I think that the time has arrived for taking from the people somewhat less; and it is these considerations that have led my colleagues and myself to give this relief, added to the fact that it has been long promised, and that the patience of the community has itself enhanced the case for remission. Sir E. Law, whom I must take leave to congratulate both upon the results that he has achieved, and upon the modesty with which he has announced them, has shown in his statement that we have endeavoured to bring our bounty home to those classes of the community that most require it, through the relief of the income-tax to the struggling members of the middle class, through the reduction in the salt duty to the cultivating millions. The total annual sacrifice of revenue which we have thus accepted amounts to nearly 210 lakhs, or £1,400,000, and it will not, I hope, henceforward be in the power of any one to say that we have refused to the people a due share in the improving prosperity of the country, or that Government has either selfishly absorbed or unwisely dissipated the fruits of the national industry. Some fear has been expressed that the benefits of the reduction on the salt-tax may be frittered away before they reach the consumer. But if we examine the result of what happened at the last reduction in 1882, and again when the duty was reimposed in 1888, we find good reason for thinking that a difference of 8 annas per maund does filter down to the people, and is reflected both in the price of the commodity and in an increase or decrease of consumption. Of course the reduction of taxation now does not carry with it any promise that it will never at any time be reimposed. The income-tax in England, which is the great national reserve, goes up and down according to

the financial position ; and every civilised Government must have at its disposal the means of meeting an emergency, whether caused by war or anything else. The utmost that the community can demand is that taxation which has been taken off upon its own merits shall not be lightly reimposed, and that the financial emergency which is held to justify its reimposition shall be proportionate in degree to the prosperity which was responsible for the original relief. I hope myself that the consumption of salt may increase steadily under the lowered rate of duty, and that Government will gradually reap its reward in a recovery of revenue as well as in the gratitude of the people.

One thing it may interest hon. members to know, namely, that since the salt duties were equalised throughout India, there has never been a period, except the six years between 1882 and 1888, at which the duty anywhere in India has stood so low as the rate to which we have now reduced it, and that since India was taken over by the Crown in the middle of the last century, the duty in Northern India and Bengal was never lower than two rupees eight annas except during the period above mentioned. These facts are, I think, of importance as tending to show the genuine and exceptional character of the present boon, and also the desire of Government, so far from making increasing expenditure an excuse for increasing calls upon the poorer classes of the population, to allow them to be the first to profit by an all-round improvement in the national resources. There is one consequence that I hope may ensue from these measures of financial relief. I hope they may give the public at large, both in India and outside of it, a little greater confidence in the position and prospects of this country. Year after year we have put forward at this table statements of figures and facts tending irresistibly to show that there is a great reserve of economic vitality in India, which not even plague and famine and the expenditure entailed thereby have availed to subdue. We have shown steadily improving revenues, large and increasing surpluses, advances in all the tests that indicate material prosperity. We have even been able from time to time to confer, as we did last year, very large and substantial boons. But there has always remained a school

of thought that declined to be convinced. With them the poverty of the Indian peasant, the decline of the country, and I may almost say its ultimate ruin, have almost become an article of political belief, based upon sentiment rather than reason, and impervious to the evidence of facts. And the final argument that has always been used by critics of this class is the following :—" We are not impressed by your figures ; we do not believe in your surpluses ; we are not even convinced by your occasional doles. Not until you give a permanent relief of taxation shall we be persuaded either of the sympathy of Government or of the prosperity of the country. That is the sure and final test of the condition of India and of the statesmanship of its rulers." Well, I feel inclined to take these critics at their own word, and to invite them, now that we have subscribed to their test, to abate their melancholy, and to be a little more generous and less sceptical in the future.

I do not wish it for a moment to be thought that, because we have been able to remit the best part of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling per annum in taxation, therefore there is no poverty in India. Far from it. There is enough, and far more than enough. There is a great deal more than any one of us can contemplate with equanimity or satisfaction. The size and growth of the population, the character of their livelihood, and to some extent their own traditions and inclinations, render this inevitable. But I do not believe that the people are getting poorer. On the contrary, I hold that they are making slow but sure advances, and that in normal conditions this progress is certain to continue. But in my view this can only be achieved if all those who are concerned with the problem, whether as administrators or critics, do so in a spirit not of pessimism, but of cheerfulness. As little by little we get forward, I would crown every milestone on the path with roses instead of wetting it with tears.

There is another point of view from which I would for a moment invite the Council and the outside public to regard the relief which has been announced in this Budget, since I think that here again we may find a useful corrective to some of the dangers of premature criticism. How often have we not been told in certain quarters in the past three

months that the Delhi Durbar was a foolish and even wicked extravagance, because we spent the money of the people—how much or how little I shall presently show—without announcing to them a substantial benefit in return. I am not sure that my hon. friend Mr. Charlu is not a little unsound on this point himself; for he generously offered to let bygones be bygones, as though there was something that we would rather like to forget. That is not at all our view. I may remark that I should have been glad enough to make the announcement at the Durbar, but that it is the usual practice of modern Governments to connect relief of taxation with Budget statements and with the beginning or end of the financial year. I should have thought that this was tolerably clear from my Durbar speech. However, our eager and incredulous friends would not wait even for three months. In their view the golden opportunity had been thrown away, and the Government that had sacrificed it had proved its indifference to the public interest. I feel tempted to wonder whether the Durbar, which I firmly believe that $\frac{9}{10}$ ths—I think I might say $\frac{99}{100}$ ths—of those who either saw it or know anything about it regard as having been a unique success, will be relieved from the charge of failure at the hands of the minority who have hitherto so represented it, now that the solitary cause which was alleged to have been responsible for that failure has disappeared by the announcement in March of the bounty which they would have preferred to secure in January. When the Durbar is cited in the history of the future, even from the narrow point of view of material result alone, will it be quoted by the class of opinion of which I am speaking as a success because it heralded the present relief, or as a failure because it fell short by three months of anticipating it? I do not fancy that there can be much doubt as to the response.

[Here followed certain paragraphs about the Delhi Durbar, which have been extracted from this place and reproduced under that heading, and under the heading of "Indian Art."]

Among the most contented of the participators at Delhi were the Ruling Chiefs of India, and not the least contented

of them, I venture to say, was the Chief of premier rank, His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad. I have had no previous opportunity of alluding to the agreement that I was fortunate enough to be able to conclude with him a little while before the Durbar. I may perhaps indulge in a brief reference to it now.

It was an Agreement regulating the future of the districts hitherto designated the Assigned Districts of Hyderabad, and more popularly known as Berar. The papers concerning that Agreement have been made public,¹ and it is open to any one to form his opinion of the arrangement arrived at, and of the steps by which it was attained. I believe that it has generally been accepted as an Agreement honourable to both parties, and bringing to a satisfactory termination a state of affairs that had for half a century been neither satisfactory nor profitable to either. I will only add here, as the correspondence has shown, that the Agreement, following upon a friendly exchange of views between His Highness the Nizam and myself, represented the free and unfettered disposition of both parties, and that no trace of any opposite influence entered at any moment into its negotiation. His Highness is not less gratified with the Agreement than we are, and if both parties are equally content, then I think that there is nothing unreasonable in asking the public to join in our felicitations. There are few questions of delicacy or difficulty connected with Native States in which it has not been my experience that the Chief is ready to discuss them in the most frank and courteous spirit with the head of the Government of India.

I now pass to the wider range of subjects that is apt to be opened up by a Budget debate. In some of these discussions I have spoken of the duties with which Government has charged itself, and of the manner in which they are being fulfilled. I do not propose to-day to say much of the labours that lie behind us. I will merely allude to a few that are in a state of transitional development, and

¹ They were published as a Parliamentary Blue-book in 1902. The upshot of the Agreement concluded by Lord Curzon was that for an annual payment of 25 lakhs to the Nizam the Government of India obtained a perpetual lease of Berar, and were able to incorporate it in the administration of the Central Provinces. Thus was healed a sore that had rankled for fifty years.

the course of which we watch with natural anxiety from year to year. Our currency policy is working well, and is bringing back confidence to every branch of Indian finance and trade. Our frontier policy has so far been fortunate. The new province is prospering, and we are gradually extending the application of the principles upon which our frontier policy depends. The Punjab Land Alienation Act is reported to be succeeding beyond expectation, and encourages us to approach with greater confidence attempts to arrest the evils of indebtedness and expropriation of the agricultural population elsewhere. The industrial legislation that we have passed during the past two years is bearing good fruit; and the increased wage for the coolie in the tea gardens of Assam will come into operation in the ensuing year. Re-armament has been completed in the regular Army, and only remains to be extended to the Volunteers, and we are proceeding to the organisation of internal factories so as to render ourselves self-sufficing in the future.

There is one matter which I have before now mentioned at this table, and to which I have attached an importance that has not always been recognised. I allude to the orders that we passed for a reduction in the number and length of official Reports—that time-honoured foible and snare of Indian administration. Some people said that the idea was excellent, but that the orders would be nugatory, and the difference *nil*; others applauded conciseness in the abstract, but deplored it in the case of every Report to which it was applied. Of course we could not expect all in a moment to hit off the exact mean between prolixity and undue contraction, or to teach every officer straight away how to frame the ideal Report. But that our orders have not only not been abortive, but have produced very material results, will, I think, be evident from the following figures. The total number of obligatory Reports to Government has been reduced from nearly 1300 to a little over 1000. But the difference in their contents is more notable still. Before the issue of the new orders, the number of pages of letterpress submitted and printed was 18,000; it is now 8600. The number of pages of

statistics was 17,400 ; it is now 11,300, or a total reduction of pages of contents from 35,400 to less than 20,000. I do not think that this reduction has been achieved at any cost whatever of administrative efficiency. What it has meant in relief to the compiling officers, and in the release of energy for other and more important branches of work, will be patent to any one who has the smallest experience of Indian administration.

I do not now propose to dwell further upon the past. I prefer, in what I have to say, to look ahead, and to form an estimate of the work that still awaits my colleagues and myself, before we can say that the work of reform and reconstruction that we assumed has been duly started on its way, or before we can afford to rest a little on our oars. Sometimes I confess that I get a little appalled at the magnitude of the undertaking, and disappointed at the reception that appears to await reform. The very people who applaud reform and cry for the reformer are apt to express immense surprise at the one, and no small resentment at the other, when they are forthcoming ; there are so many excellent arguments for doing nothing, such a reposeful fascination in just scraping along. I have even learned in this country a new and captivating doctrine, namely, that it is considered a mistake in some quarters to inquire at all. I came here with the idea that no sphere of administrative work in the world admits less of hasty generalisation or abrupt action than India ; that the features of race, religion, and locality are so divergent, the needs of different provinces so opposite, the general lack of uniformity so striking, that before any organic changes could be introduced, profound and careful investigation was required, and a consultation of local authority and opinion, however bewildering the differences might be, was essential. If I held these views four years ago, still more do I hold them now. They are the commonplaces of Oriental administration. They seem to me the A B C of Indian politics. I cannot conscientiously recede from them in any respect. And yet how familiar I now am with the charge that it is a waste of time and a proof of insincerity to inquire, that Commissions are an expensive extravagance, and that the problems which we are engaged in laboriously

investigating are so well known that only the meanest capacity is required to solve them without further ado. I do not think that the withers of my colleagues or myself have been wrung by these remarks. Indeed, I have a shrewd suspicion that the very persons who protest against inquiry before action as a superfluity, would equally denounce action without inquiry as an outrage. I am afraid, therefore, that we shall obstinately continue our policy of ascertaining the data before we proceed to act upon them, although it will be gratifying to those who are so impatient for deeds to know that, in the case of the whole of our Commissions, the stage of investigation is now almost at an end, and that there lies immediately in front of us the onerous and responsible task of translating so much of their recommendations as we may decide to accept into practice. Who knows that before long we shall not have the charge brought against us of acting too much after having inquired too little? Perhaps we shall even be told, as we have been in a well-known case, that it was not necessary either to inquire or to act at all.

There is one respect in which we have just taken the final steps in dealing with the policy recommended by one of the most important Commissions that have sat and reported during my time. I allude to Sir A. MacDonnell's Famine Commission. Soon after the Report first reached us, we issued orders to the local Governments upon so much of the Report as we accepted ourselves without demur, and as we knew to be similarly acceptable to them. Since then we have conducted an exhaustive correspondence with the local Governments and with the Secretary of State upon the more disputed aspects of the case, and we are now about to issue a Resolution embodying final orders on the subject. A revised code of Famine procedure, based upon the latest experience, will then be at hand throughout India, which will regulate the operations of the next campaign as soon as it has to be undertaken. I do not assume for a moment that the last word on Famine Relief has been spoken, or that later experience may not guide us to even further improvements of system. The utmost that we can do at each stage is to profit by the lessons hitherto learned

and to translate our experience with as little delay as possible into executive orders and action, so that when the next calamity comes, Governments and individuals may go calmly to their task, instead of rushing into all sorts of experiments, and making all kinds of blunders which have to be paid for at a heavy cost later on.

The Hon. Rai Sri Ram Bahadur addressed to me today a personal appeal to do something before I go, to strike at the root of the evil, by preventing the recurrence of Famine in the future in this country. If there was one accessible root, and if the axe of Government could be laid to it, who can doubt that, not this Government alone, but every one of its predecessors, would long ago have discerned the seat of the evil, and have applied the instrument of destruction to it? We are cutting at the subsidiary roots. Extended irrigation, improved education, attempts to relieve the indebtedness and to increase the material prosperity of the people, crop experiments, scientific research, and a careful overhauling of the machinery with which we meet drought when it comes—all these are efforts which will gradually diminish the severity, and, I hope, contract the area of famines in India. But to ask any Government to prevent the occurrence of famine in a country the meteorological conditions of which are what they are here and the population of which is growing at its present rate, is to ask us to wrest the keys of the universe from the hands of the Almighty. I cannot furnish a better illustration of this than that which was given by the hon. member himself. In the autumn of the past year it was by the dispensation of Providence alone, when the monsoon suddenly revived in the months of August and September, that what might have been famine conditions were turned into prosperity conditions during the present winter. The best Government in the world could not have accelerated that change by a single second; the worst Government could not have retarded it. The hon. member seems to think that famines in this country used not to be so bad in former years, and that similar calamities do not occur under similar conditions elsewhere. If he will study the Reports of the various Famine Commissions, he will find a

good deal to throw doubt upon the former statement. If he turns to the history of Russia, he will find good reason for changing his opinion upon the latter. Government should never slacken for one moment in its peace campaign, just as much as in its war campaign, against famine. Thus we shall render it less formidable and shall gradually gain the upper hand. But we are not, in my judgment, as yet within measurable distance of the time when the word prevention can be much upon our lips.

As to the work that still lies before us, it falls under eight headings, concerning each of which I have a few words to say. It must not be thought that the order in which I happen to name them is the order of their importance. All are equally important, and all are simultaneously being taken up. Neither must it be thought, when I speak of them in the future, that we are now about to start work upon any of them for the first time. Throughout the past four years there is not one among them that has not been almost continuously under our notice. In every case we have reached an advanced stage of inquiry, and in some cases of action, and it only remains for us to carry these proceedings to the final stage, and to present to the Secretary of State and to the country the bases of a definite policy to be consistently pursued in the future.

The first of these is Education.¹ Do not let any one suppose that in any aspect of education we shrink from the duty that we have undertaken, which is that of formulating for the country a revised scheme of Education in all its branches, University, secondary, primary, technical, and commercial. But we must postulate a little patience and ask for a little time. The proposals are so multi-form, the needs so different, the guidance that we receive from the public so perplexing, that sometimes one scarcely sees light through the trunks of the trees. The subject of Education, however, and particularly of University Education in India, illustrates very forcibly what I said a little while back. More than a year and a half ago I presided over a Conference of leading educational authorities, official

¹ The ensuing paragraphs may be read in connection with the speeches on Education, which are printed under a separate heading in this volume.

and unofficial, at Simla, in order to assure myself of the trend of expert knowledge and opinion on these subjects. I remember at that time that the prevailing apprehension was lest the Government should suddenly spring a new educational policy upon the country without giving to the interested parties an opportunity of having their say, and that the Simla decrees would be issued as a mandate to the nation. Nobody, I may say, ever entertained such a notion in the Government itself. On the contrary, we meant from the start to give to the qualified public the fullest opportunity for expressing its views. Accordingly we appointed a Commission, under my hon. colleague Mr. Raleigh, to examine into the question of the Universities, and we consulted the local Governments upon every other feature of our plans. Since then the public has had the best part of a year in which to expend its energies upon discussion—an opportunity by which no one can say that it has not profited. Whether Government has profited equally by these proceedings is open to doubt; for I observe that whereas a year and a half ago every one was agreed that Education in India stood most urgently in need of reform, that it had got entirely into the wrong groove, and was going steadily down hill, dispensing an imperfect education through imperfect instruments to imperfect products with imperfect results—a great many of the interested parties now meet together and proclaim in injured tones that they stand in no need of reformation at all. Now let me say at once that this is not good business. I lay down as an absolute and unassailable proposition that our educational systems in India are faulty in the extreme, and that unless they are reformed, posterity will reproach us for the lost opportunity for generations to come. I remind the public that that proposition was most cordially endorsed by every shade of opinion one and a half years ago. Since then we have shown a consideration for the interests of all concerned and a reluctance to act with precipitation that have been pushed almost to extremes, and have exposed us to the charge of timidity and irresolution. My object throughout has been to carry the public with us in our reforms, and to base them upon the popular

assent. I am still hopeful that better counsels will prevail, and I shall spare no effort to attain this result. But if every reform proposed is to be overwhelmed with obloquy and criticism, because it touches some vested interest or affects some individual concern ; if change of any kind is to be proscribed merely because it is change ; if the appetite for reform, so strong two years ago, has now entirely died down, then I must point out that the educated community will have forfeited the greatest chance ever presented to them of assisting the Government to place the future education of this country upon a better footing, and Government will be left to pursue its task alone. I should be most reluctant to be driven to this course. I want to reform education in India, I will not say *omnium consensu*, because that may be an impossible aspiration, but with the goodwill and assent of reasonable and experienced men, and I have a right to ask that, in so far as they are dissatisfied with the *status quo*, they shall render our course not more difficult, but more easy.

I am well aware that University Education does not exhaust the field or the requirements of Education in this country. There are many other aspects of the problem scarcely less important which we also have under examination—Secondary Education, or education in the High Schools leading up to the Colleges ; Primary Education, or the education of the masses in the vernacular ; Commercial Education, or the provision of a training that shall qualify young men for a business career ; Agricultural Education, *i.e.* a practical as well as a theoretical instruction in the staple industry of the country ; Technical and Industrial Education, or the application of scientific methods and principles to the practice of national industries and handicrafts,—all of these have come under review, and we are little by little shaping the principles that will presently form the basis of a policy and a programme. I would only say to the public—Do not be impatient, and do not be censorious. Do not impute dark conspiracies or assume that all the misguided men in the country are inside the Government and all the enlightened outside it. What could be easier than for Government not to have taken up educa-

tional reform at all, or even now to drop it altogether? All the wild talk about killing Higher Education and putting education under the heel of Government merely obscures the issue, and paralyses action. Surely there are enough of us on both sides who care for education for education's sake, who are thinking not of party triumphs, but of the future of unborn generations, to combine together and carry the requisite changes through. I cannot imagine a worse reflection upon the educated classes in India, or a more crushing condemnation of the training that we have given them, than that they should band themselves together to stereotype existing conditions, or to defeat the first genuine attempt at reform that has been made for a quarter of a century. I agree with the Hon. Mr. Gokhale that Education is one of the most solemn duties of the State. But the State, I venture to point out, is the aggregate of its own citizens, and not a mere governing organisation alone; and in the latter capacity the State cannot discharge its educational responsibility without the cordial co-operation of the community at large. Before I leave the subject of Education, I will only add one word upon the subject of Scientific Research. This is of course the apex of educational advancement; and in relaying the foundations nothing would give the Government greater pleasure than to contribute to the possibility of adding the crown. I hope that Mr. Tata's splendid benefaction will shortly take practical shape. I have seen all sorts of assertions that it has languished for want of sympathy in official quarters. There is not an atom of truth in this insinuation, and when the history is published, as it shortly will be, no further misapprehension need arise. On the contrary, I hope that the scheme may then move rapidly towards realisation.

The second subject that awaits our treatment, and that will occupy us in the forthcoming year, is Irrigation. For two cold weathers has the Irrigation Commission been pursuing its energetic researches, and soon after we get to Simla the Report will be in our hands. It will give us an exhaustive review of the capabilities for water storage or water utilisation of every part of the Indian Continent; and then we shall have to set to work to provide for every

province its reasoned programme of tanks, or reservoirs, or wells, or canals, mapped out over a long series of years, and devised with strict regard to the experiences or the exigencies of drought. Much money will be required; many experiments will have to be made; some failures will be registered. But at least it will not be possible to say that the Government of India has ignored this aspect of the agricultural and industrial problem, or that we are wasting our water because we do not know how to use it.

Then we have the impending Report of the Police Commission and the impending reform of the Indian Police. I know no more of the proceedings of the Commission than has appeared in the newspapers, and I am unaware what our Commissioners will say. But if any one had any doubt as to the need of inquiry, I should think that this must have been dissipated by the nature of the evidence that has been forthcoming; and if any one questions the need of reform, he cannot, I think, be a resident in this land. Upon this subject, however, I should like to add one word of caution. Reform we must, and reform we shall. But the main improvement that is required, which is a moral improvement, cannot come all in a gallop. Men are on the whole what their surroundings make them, and men do what their opportunities permit. It is not all in a moment that you can take one section of a society and create in it a different standard from that which prevails in another, even if you pay the former to look after the morals of the latter. We shall, I hope, get a better and a purer police as a consequence of the changes that we shall introduce, but we shall not straightway found a new Jerusalem until we have educated the people who are to build and to inhabit it.

I have often before spoken of my desire to introduce a more commercial element into the management of Indian Railways; and already we have made some progress in this direction. From our published Histories of Projects, from our Railway Conferences, and from our Travelling Commissions—all initiated during the past four years,—the public, I think, know more than they used to do of our policy and aims. But I have never thought that this was enough. Railways in India have now climbed out of the cradle.

They provide us with a recurring annual surplus. Before I came out here as Viceroy, I made a speech in London,¹ at which I was thought rather sanguine for saying that, while less than 21,000 miles were then open, I hoped that the total would exceed 25,000 miles in my time. It has already reached 26,500. But it is not mileage that impresses me, nor receipts. I am more concerned with up-to-date management and efficiency, and I hope that the Report of our Special Commissioner, Mr. Robertson, which is on the eve of being submitted, may give us the clue that will guide us to far-reaching reforms, intended to place Indian railways and their administration on a level with the most progressive achievements of other and more developed countries.

There is a subject long under our notice which we hope to deal with in the ensuing year. This is that of the union or separation of Judicial and Executive functions. If any one could stand in my shoes, and, with his ten hours' work a day, could cast a glance at that file, the best part of a foot high, with its mass of opinions from local Governments, high courts, officials, and private persons, all waiting to be read and digested, and most of them saying different things, he would probably understand how it is that everything cannot be pushed forward at the same time. But the question is of great importance, and whatever our ultimate decision may be, I should like it to be taken up and dealt with in my time.²

I should have been tempted to say something about Agriculture to-day—the sixth subject in my present category—were it not that I have been so ably anticipated by Sir D. Ibbetson. When he is the inspiring genius and the spokesman of a department, it seems superfluous for any one else to add a word. I can, however, supplement what he has said by tracing the logical as well as chronological sequence of our labours. First let me say what we have attempted so far to do. We have endeavoured to deal with the indebtedness of the agricultural classes by the Punjab

¹ At a luncheon given to Lord Curzon by the Directors of the P. & O. S. N. Company on December 2, 1898. It is not reported in this volume.

² This was one of the subjects left untouched owing to Lord Curzon's retirement from India before the end of his second term.

legislation, which I before mentioned, and now by the Bundelkhund legislation, which he has defended to-day. We have laid down broad and liberal principles explaining and regulating our policy of Land Revenue assessments in India. We have created an Inspector-General of Agriculture at the head of an expert department, and we have constituted a Board of Scientific Advice. But before us lies the much bigger experiment of combined agricultural research, agricultural experiment, and agricultural education, which Sir D. Ibbetson has outlined, and which, if we can carry it through, ought to be of incalculable service to the country. If we can simultaneously train teachers, provide estate managers and agents, and foster research, we shall really have done some good in our time.

Then behind these proposals lies a scheme which we have greatly at heart, and about which I should like to add a word—I mean the institution of Co-operative Credit Societies, or, as they are often called, Agricultural Banks. I have seen some disappointment expressed that we have not moved more quickly in this matter. If any one had studied, as I have had to do, the replies of all the local Governments and their officers on the subject, he would begin to wonder when and how we are to move at all. Of course it is easy enough to express an abstract approval of agricultural banks, to denounce everybody who does not share your views, and to rush into experiments foredoomed to failure. But that is exactly what Government does not want to do, and what the replies of its advisers would render it suicidal to do. When there are many who say that the co-operative spirit does not exist in the rural community, that it is unsuited to the conditions of Indian character and life, that the savings banks are not patronised as it is, and that the requisite capital will not be forthcoming, it is impossible to pooh-pooh all these assertions as idle fancy. But even when we get beyond them, and justify the desirability of making the experiment on a moderate and cautious scale, we are still confronted with all manner of questions. Is the experiment to be made with village or urban societies, or with both, and which first? Should Government aid these societies, and if so, to what extent, and for how long?

What restrictions should be placed upon them, and should loans be permitted for unproductive as well as productive expenditure? What privileges or concessions should be granted to them by Government, and what restrictions should be imposed? All these are questions which have called for a good deal of thinking over before they could be answered. All the same, I think that we are beginning to see our way. Certain broad principles seem to stand out crisp and clear. The difference between rural organisation in one part of India and another is so great that no one rule can apply to all. Different systems will have to be tried in different places. The one common feature must be simplicity. We must go slowly and surely, learning as we proceed. The people must be the final workers out of their own salvation, but we, *i.e.* Government, may give them such assistance as we properly can. We can bestow certain advantages, and we can remove certain disabilities; but, in the main, the venture must depend on the people themselves. These are the broad general outlines that emerge from our study, and I believe that Sir D. Ibbetson is prepared to advise us to legislate in this direction. I hope, therefore, that the matter may not be much longer delayed.¹

I have upon another occasion spoken of projects that we have before us for improving and strengthening the position of Commerce in this country. Sir E. Law is a firm friend of these interests, and I share his desire to do what we can. I wish that we had been in a position to-day to say something about the Commercial Bureau which excites so much interest. But we have not as yet had a reply from the India Office. Connected with Commerce is the question of a reduction in internal Telegraphic rates. Sir E. Law has made a few observations on this point. The matter has been under our study for many months. *Prima facie* we should all like to increase the facilities enjoyed by the public, and I hope we may discover some means of doing so; but the question is not free from difficulty or financial risk.

¹ It took shape in the Co-operative Credit Societies Bill, which was passed into law in March 1904. *Vide* p. 176.

Lastly, I come to the heading of Finance, and by finance I do not mean those calculations which must inevitably lurk in the background of all the proposals that I have, hitherto discussed, but the principles that regulate our control and dispensation of the Indian revenues. Here I will mention two matters only that have always seemed to me matters of the deepest importance, and of which I should like, if it were possible, to advance the solution in my time. The first of these is the constitution and employment of the present so-called Famine Insurance Fund. I have never been quite satisfied as to the position of this feature in our accounts, and for two years we have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on the matter. There is a good deal to be said upon both sides, and for the present we have not been able to arrive at a solution.¹ The second question is that of the Provincial Settlements, which, though they have had their obvious merits, have not been unattended with friction and with drawbacks in operation. My colleagues and I would greatly like, if we can, to invest these agreements between the supreme and the local Governments with a more permanent character, that would stimulate the energies of local Governments and give them a greater interest in economy and good administration, while retaining for the Imperial Government the necessary measure of ultimate control. I do not know whether we shall be successful in these efforts; but we are about, with the assent of the Secretary of State, to take them in hand.²

I have now covered the entire field of administrative work that appears to me to lie before the Government of India in the immediate future. We may, to use a slang phrase, be thought by some to have bitten off more than we can chew. We may be diverted from our laborious meal by other and unforeseen preoccupations. I hope myself that neither apprehension will turn out to be genuine. The work that I have indicated is waiting to be done, and ought

¹ The proposals put forward by the Viceroy in this connection, and three times supported by the unanimous voice of his Council, were refused by the Secretary of State.

² These efforts culminated in the new type of permanent or quasi-permanent Provincial Agreements, which were introduced in the ensuing year, and explained by Lord Curzon in his Budget Speech of March 30, 1904. *Vide* p. 134.

most certainly to be attempted. Whatever of time and energy remains to me I hope to devote to the prosecution of the task, and my dearest ambition is to see it carried safely through.

[Here followed the paragraphs about Foreign Affairs which are printed under that heading.]

SIXTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 30, 1904

I do not propose to say much about the figures of the Budget. They speak for themselves. Hon. members have found no complaint to make, and nearly every speech to which we have listened has been in the nature of a beatitude. In my remarks I propose to look rather at the Budget as the culminating point for the moment in an era of recuperation which has now been proceeding for five years almost without a halt, and to contrast the position which we occupy to-day with that which was presented when I came to India at the end of 1898. My predecessor had to fight—and he fought with great courage and cool-headedness—against many drawbacks, famine, pestilence, earthquake, and war. Recurrent deficits appeared in the Budget. The exchange value of the rupee touched its lowest point, only a fraction over 1s. in 1895. In the summer of 1898 it was proposed to borrow 20 millions sterling in order to strengthen exchange. The year 1898-99 witnessed the turn of the tide and the first of a series of surpluses that have never since failed us. But even then exchange was an uncertain quantity, and we had no guarantee that the pendulum would not swing back. It was in the summer of 1899 that Sir Henry Fowler's Committee reported, and in September of that year we introduced and passed the legislation at Simla which gave us a gold standard in India, and started our present currency system on its way. Nearly five years have gone by, and we have almost forgotten the anxieties of those days. We have secured practical fixity of exchange

at the rate of 16d. to the rupee. The lowest point touched has been 1s. $3\frac{2}{3}$ d. in July 1901, and the highest 1s. $4\frac{5}{16}$ d. in January 1900; but the ordinary fluctuations have been within much narrower limits. This has been the first and most beneficial result of the change. Hon. members will recollect that another of the Committee's proposals was the creation of a Gold Reserve Fund from the profits of Indian coinage. It was reserved for Sir E. Law to put that plan into execution in 1900. We began with 3 millions in the first year; but we now have nearly $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions invested in Consols and other gold securities in England, and bringing in an interest of £166,000 per annum. Before many years have passed I anticipate that this reserve will have reached the figure of 10 millions sterling,¹ which will be sufficient for our purpose, and will give us a permanent guarantee for stability of exchange. The fund is valuable to my mind from another point of view. Constituted as it is from the profits on coinage, it points to a steadily growing demand for currency, and therefore to an increase in the industrial activity and prosperity of the country. While I am speaking of our reserves, I must also not lose sight of our Currency Reserve, which, though it exists for a different purpose, viz. to secure the stability of our note circulation, and to provide for a demand for gold as distinguished from rupees, is yet an important buttress to our financial position. This fund now contains upwards of $10\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling in gold.

But it is in my power to point to other and more direct symptoms of progress in a comparison of our present Budget with its predecessors. Our revenue has risen from $68\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1899 to 83 millions in 1904, and this notwithstanding one very severe year of famine and in parts of India two years, as well as the continued prevalence of plague. Nevertheless, whatever head of revenue you examine you will find the same marks of growth. The only heads under which there is a decrease in the present year are those of Salt and Assessed Taxes, and that only because of our reduction of taxation a year ago. For five years we have

¹ It contained $8\frac{3}{4}$ millions sterling when Lord Curzon left India in November 1905.

had a succession of surpluses, amounting to an average of 3 millions sterling per annum. Last year we gave to India the first remission of taxation that she had enjoyed for twenty years. We sacrificed thereby about £1,400,000 annually in respect of the Salt Tax and the Income Tax; but we gave to the people what in my judgment was their due, and we so arranged our remissions as to bring relief as far as possible to those classes that best deserved it. If our resources continue to expand, I should like to look forward to a day when we may proceed even further. It would, perhaps, be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time. But if I am not so fortunate, then I shall hope to bequeath the opportunity to my successor.¹

Another evidence of our improving credit has been the figures at which we have been able to issue our rupee paper loans for Public Works expenditure. In 1900 the average rate was just over 94 rupees; last year it was a fraction over 98 rupees 1 anna. The Bank rate has never exceeded 8 per cent, nor fallen below 3 per cent. During the past year it has not exceeded 7 per cent.

During the quinquennium our total debt, both here and in England, has been increased by less than 16 millions. But against this must be set an expenditure on capital account of nearly 20 millions on Railways and $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions on Irrigation, the increased revenue from which more than repays the interest on the capital outlay. As regards Railways and Irrigation, let me analyse a little more closely. At the end of this year 27,150 miles of railroad will be open, or an increase of 4650 miles in my time—the largest total that has yet been recorded. But a more important feature still is that having for the first time obtained a surplus from our railways in 1899-1900—a modest bantling of £76,000—our net railway revenue has now risen to £855,000—a most healthy adult—or an average surplus of £466,000 in each of the five years.

In the same period the average net revenue from Irrigation has been £823,000. Thus on the two accounts we obtain an annual surplus of $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling. In fact,

¹ *Vide* p. 148. Lord Curzon bequeathed it to himself.

we have now secured the whole of our Indian railways and canals for nothing, and instead of costing us money they have become a steady source of income to the State. These figures might, I think, encourage us to borrow with even greater confidence in the future.

From a calculation that has been made for me I further learn that the net imports of gold and silver into India, which between the years 1894-1899 amounted to 25 millions sterling, have risen to over 46 millions sterling in the succeeding five years. I do not say that I regard this influx of the precious metals with unqualified satisfaction. For I often wonder what becomes of it all, how much of it goes below the ground, and how much is left above, and what proportion is reproductive. But when I read the familiar jeremiads about the alleged drain of capital away from India, it is at least open to me to remark that there is also a great deal coming in, and the drain always seems to me to resemble a flow at one end of a pipe which is perpetually being replenished at the other. Again, I do not see how it is impossible to overlook the enormous increase in Savings Banks deposits in India. In India these have risen from less than 1 million sterling in 1870 to over 7 millions sterling in 1903, out of which $\frac{9}{10}$ ths are owned by natives. Within the same period the private deposits in the Presidency, Exchange, and other private Banks have risen from £6,600,000 to £28,500,000; and the quantity of Government paper held by natives has risen from $13\frac{3}{4}$ millions to $33\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling.¹

Is it not time, therefore, that instead of repeating hypothetical figures and calculations that have been exposed until exposure has become tedious, our critics should recognise the fact that India is, on the contrary, exhibiting every mark of robust vitality and prosperity? These gentlemen remind me rather of an amiable eccentric whom I knew at school, and who always put up his umbrella and insisted that it was raining when the sun shone. In my view there are few, even among the most advanced countries of the

¹ With this entire passage should be compared the later figures and facts contained in Lord Curzon's farewell speech to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, printed at p. 281.

world, that would not welcome an economic position as sound as that which India now enjoys. There are, no doubt, calls coming upon us, urgent, incessant, and irresistible; for, as I shall presently show, we are raising the administrative standard all round; and administrative efficiency is merely another word for financial outlay. But so far as I can forecast, we shall be able to meet these calls without any addition to the burdens of the people; and if I were to leave India to-morrow, I should yet be proud of the good fortune that had enabled me to indulge in the brief analysis of our financial position which I have undertaken this afternoon.

There are two other items in the Budget to which I desire to refer, and they are both aspects of the same question, viz. our attitude to local Governments. One theory I hope that we have effectively killed; and that is the old idea that local Governments are stinted by the Supreme Government when money is forthcoming. Year by year we have subsidised them for the many calls, administrative and otherwise, that are made upon their purses, and there is not a Governor or a Lieutenant-Governor in India from whom I have not received frequent expressions of gratitude. In the present Budget our bounty has reached its maximum: for in addition to the $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores, or 1 million sterling, which has been given to four of the local Governments to start their new settlements, and the 40 lakhs which we have supplied for education, we have given them $13\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs for the increase of minor establishments, and 87 lakhs for such purposes as the Calcutta Improvement Scheme in Bengal, the Simla Improvement Scheme in the Punjab, and important public works in other provinces. Finally, I had been so much struck in my various tours by the degree to which local institutions, such as hospitals, museums, libraries, public parks, and the like, have been starved or cold-shouldered for more urgent needs, that I persuaded Sir E. Law to give a grant aggregating 22 lakhs for these purposes, carefully framed lists having been submitted to me by the various Heads of Administrations. These are just the sort of objects that ought, in my view, to profit when funds are

available, for they represent the less material and more cultured aspects of the national life.

The second subject is the new Provincial Settlements. I alluded last year to the hope that we were on the eve of a noteworthy change in this respect—no less than the substitution of a permanent, or relatively permanent, settlement for the present five years' plan. The latter has existed for a quarter of a century. It was better than the system that preceded it, but it admitted of much improvement. It was not an economical plan, because it encouraged extravagance in the concluding years of each term, and it was not a satisfactory plan, because it led to a rather unseemly squabble with the Supreme Government at the end. The better method was clearly to give to local Governments a permanent instead of a temporary interest in the revenue and expenditure under their control, subject to certain broad principles in fixing the provincial assignments. This we have succeeded in doing in the cases of Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces, and Assam, and have thereby laid the foundations of a financial autonomy that, I hope, will steadily develop and will enable the local Governments in the future to undertake enterprises from which they are now debarred. I mention the matter here, both because of its intrinsic importance, and because I agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that it furnishes a conclusive answer to those who are always accusing the Government of India of undue centralisation. I would point out that efficiency of administrative control is not centralisation, though it is often mistaken for it. Centralisation is the absorption by a central body of powers or privileges hitherto enjoyed, or capable, if created, of being exercised, by subordinate bodies. I acknowledge no such tendency. We have kept local Governments up to the mark, because I do not believe in lax or sluggish control, or in the abdication of powers which have been provided for special objects. But if an occasion has anywhere arisen where it was possible to devolve or depute powers, we have gladly taken it, and these new settlements constitute, in my view, the most important step in the nature of decentralisation that has been adopted for

many years, and will, I hope, be the forerunner of others in the future.

Five years ago at this table I spoke of a category of questions which I hoped to take up and press to solution in my time.¹ Two years later I indicated the progress that we had then made.² I have not the time, and there is no present need, to complete the review now. But a few remarks may be made distinguishing between those that have been more or less disposed of, and those that will occupy us during the forthcoming year. Of course, the task would not then be complete. There is no standing still in administration, and no administrator can mark the point at which his work is done. New spirits start up as soon as old ones are laid, and the horizon lengthens out as we proceed. I think, however, that it is possible to frame a category of cases in which we have either definitely carried our object or reached such a point that continuity is assured. The first of these I desire to detach for special consideration in a few moments. It is Frontier Policy. I have already dealt with the second, and third, and fourth, namely, Currency Reform, Provincial Settlements, and reduction of taxation. A few days ago I was explaining what we had been able to do in respect of the preservation of antiquities and Archaeological reform ; and there the lines have been laid down from which no departure should now be possible. The same applies to the changes in the Leave Rules, that were designed to prevent the frequency of official transfers, and to the reduction of Reports. I have lately had conducted a special examination of every Report that reaches the Government of India from whatever quarter, and I am gratified to find that the orders about reduction have been faithfully carried out, with the result of an immense saving of work to overburdened men, and at no sacrifice of value or merit in the Reports themselves. The reduction in the Telegraphic rates to Europe, to which I pledged myself in 1899, and which brought down the charge from 4s. to 2s. 6d. a word, has been so successful that we have lately addressed the Secretary of State with a proposal for a further reduction to 2s., with a corresponding

¹ *Vide* p. 68.

² *Vide* p. 76.

reduction in the Press rate. I do not know if we shall succeed.¹ But I think that the result of the first experiment is distinctly encouraging. We were prepared for a loss on the first year's working of £67,000. It was only £33,000. We estimated for a 10 per cent increase in the traffic. The increase amounted to $26\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On the 1st of January of the present year we carried out a further reduction in inland rates, which, I believe, has proved beneficial to all classes of the community. The figures of January show that there was an increase of 25 per cent in deferred messages alone over the corresponding month in the previous year.

Next I pass to the large category of questions connected with Education. Our Universities Bill is now the law of the land. But I should have felt that we had acted in a very one-sided and inconclusive manner had we held that Educational reform was summed up in the reconstitution of the Universities. Our recent Educational Resolution² crystallises the principles that result from an examination of every branch of educational activity, and that will, we hope, inspire our educational policy in the future. It may surprise those hon. members at this table who sometimes hint at the Simla Conference of 1901, as though it had been a sort of Star Chamber that promulgated dark and sinister decrees, to learn that the results of the Simla Conference, as finally shaped after consultation with local Governments, are embodied in the recent Resolution. I observe in India that if people do not approve of a policy, they denounce it as reactionary. If they cannot disapprove of the official statement of it, they describe it as a platitude. As our Educational Resolution has had the good fortune to be so designated, I conclude that it has been found generally satisfactory. Perhaps, however, I may point out that so far from being a perfunctory statement of obvious principles, it is really the result of nearly two years' hard work. It summarises for the public information the position which we have at present reached in educational progress, and it endeavours to lay down the lines of future advance. Many important aspects of the subject, such as

¹ The reduction was made in 1905.

² Issued in March 1904.

education in European schools, agricultural education, commercial education, industrial and technical education, examinations for Government service, as well as the entire problem of primary and secondary education in India, find a place in it. Some of these matters we have also dealt with independently. Our scheme for Industrial Schools and for State Technical Scholarships has gone to local Governments, and is before the public. I rather agree with those hon. members who were arguing here the other day and who repeated to-day that Educational reform in India is mainly a matter of money. I think it is. We have shown this by the extra grant of 40 lakhs, or nearly £270,000 a year, that we have now made for three years running to the local Governments. These grants are in addition to the ordinary educational assignments in the Provincial Settlements. We have also, as is known, promised a contribution of 25 lakhs to the Universities. I should like, however, to go further, and to provide for a serious and sustained expenditure upon educational improvement extending over a long series of years.

There is another very important group of subjects to which we have given great attention. I allude to Economic Development, which may again be subdivided into Agriculture, Industries, and Commerce. Our recent Resolution on Agriculture sums up the practical steps that have been taken for the encouragement and improvement of agriculture, and for the active prosecution of scientific research. We now have our Inspector - General of Agriculture, with a staff of scientific experts; we have the new institution at Pusa springing into being, where research, the training of students, and experimental farming will be simultaneously taken in hand; we have strengthened the Provincial Agricultural Departments, reorganised the Civil Veterinary Department, so as to undertake the investigation of cattle diseases and the improvement of breeds of cattle, and created a Board of Scientific Advice to co-ordinate the work that is being done in these and all other branches of scientific research in India. We have centralised bacteriological research at Kasauli and Muktesar. Then I pass to those measures that more directly affect the economic condition

of the agrarian classes. We have dealt with the system of Land Revenue Assessments in India, tracing the historical growth of the present system and its steady modifications in the interests of the land-owning or land-cultivating classes, and formulating reasonable and lenient principles for observance in the future.¹ By legislation in the United Provinces we have endeavoured to improve the relations between landlord and tenant. We have attacked the problem of the increasing indebtedness and gradual expropriation of the proprietary body from many sides, by the Land Alienation Bills in the Punjab and Bundelkhund, and by the Bill to institute Co-operative Credit Societies, which we passed in this Council last week. We have endeavoured to provide against the break-up of landed properties by legislation instituting a modified system of entail in Oudh, in the Punjab, in Madras, and in Bengal. Finally, in 1902, we gave direct benefit to the cultivators by remissions of Land Revenue amounting to nearly 2 crores of rupees, while, in the past five years, we have advanced between 5 and 6 crores to the people for the purchase of seed and the provision of capital.

The Government of India have watched with anxious interest, and have done all in their power to develop, the Commerce and Industries of this country, some of them securely established, others struggling but hopeful, others again nascent or still in embryo. I might refer to our legislation in the interests of tea-gardens, and the institution of a tea-cess, the passing of the Mines Act, the constitution of a Mining Department, and the issue of more liberal mining rules, the countervailing sugar duties, grants for indigo research, the passing of an Electricity Act, the opening up of the Jherriah coal-fields, reductions in coal freights, the steady increase in railway rolling-stock, for which, as Sir A. Arundel has mentioned in his Memorandum, no less a sum than 3 crores, or 2 millions sterling, has been set aside. We are proposing the creation of an Imperial Customs Service.² We have also endeavoured to develop our trade with adjoining countries, by the Nuskhi route

¹ The allusion is to Lord Curzon's published Resolution of January 1902.

² This was being carried into effect when Lord Curzon left India.

with Seistan, by a Commercial Mission which we are arranging to send to South-Eastern Persia,¹ and by new contracts with the British India Company for improvements in their service to the Persian Gulf. I am also hopeful that the Tibet Mission will result in an improvement of trading relations with that country. We have succeeded in obtaining greater advantages in the new contract with the P. and O. Company. We also have a proposal now before the Secretary of State to supersede the Commercial Bureau, for which we at first asked, but to which he objected, by some larger and more powerful organisation, involving the creation of a new Department of the Government of India for Commerce and Industry, and the appointment of a new Member of Council for those purposes.² It is to me almost incredible that the Government of India should have got along for all these years with functions and duties huddled together in such haphazard fashion, and thrust upon the shoulders of overworked Departments and harassed men. Commerce has got mixed up with Finance: Industries and Emigration have been grouped with Revenue and Agriculture. The Post Office has been under one Department, and Telegraphs under another. These are only casual illustrations. But they indicate a want of method and co-ordination in our system that is inconsistent either with business-like administration or with the progress that lies before us. If I can get this new Department created while I am at home, I shall return with greater confidence in our capacity to meet the demands of the future.

[Here followed a number of paragraphs about Frontier Policy, Foreign Policy, and Military Administration, which have been separately reproduced under those headings.]

In the forthcoming year there are many objects which I look to push forward, before I can contentedly lay down my task. Three of these are on a footing of almost equal importance. We have already done a good deal during the past few years to bring our Railway administration into closer touch both with the commercial community and

¹ This Mission, under Mr. Gleadowe-Newcomen, returned from Persia in 1905, having done excellent work. Its Report was published in 1906.

² This was agreed to, and the new organisation was started in 1905.

with the public at large. But we have not yet reached the final stage. Mr. Robertson's Report was placed in our hands last year; and it embraced so many aspects of reform, bringing in alike the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the Companies, and raising such large questions both of administration and finance, that we could not deal with it rashly or hurriedly. Our views went home to the Secretary of State at the close of last year, and are now being considered by him. They involve an entire reconstitution of our administrative machinery, and an attempt to manage our railways in future on less strictly departmental lines. The object that we have in view can only be attained by the surrender of considerable powers by existing authorities to any new authority that may be constituted: and this is not a matter that can be easily or speedily concluded. I am hopeful, however, that a decision may be given in the course of the forthcoming summer, and that this most important project may be duly launched.¹

Irrigation is also one of the works of the coming summer. Our sympathies with an expanded irrigation programme have been sufficiently shown by the increased grants that we have given for construction in each year since I came to India. Next year they touch the unprecedented total of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores. People sometimes talk as though practically unlimited sums could be spent upon Irrigation with little or no trouble. They could perhaps be spent, if experiments were rashly made in every direction, and if there were no objection to flinging money away. No science, however, demands for its practice more careful forethought and planning or more trained supervision. An untrained or inadequate establishment cannot suddenly begin to spend lakhs on tanks and canals. There is no analogy in this respect between irrigation and railways: for private enterprise is ready to help us with the latter, and the question is only one of terms. With irrigation the case is so different that whereas in the last two years we have given two crores to local Governments, they could only manage to spend, in 1902, 85 lakhs, and in 1903, 81 lakhs.

¹ The new Railway Board was started in January 1905.

This summer, however, we hope to address ourselves to an exhaustive examination of all the numerous projects that were worked out by the recent Irrigation Commission for the whole of India. Great expenditure will be required, and much of it will be unproductive in the technical sense of the term. But protection from drought rather than acquisition of revenue is our object, and I venture to think that we shall have it in our power to initiate a comprehensive and far-reaching policy that will do more good to the cultivating classes than any Bills that we can pass in this Council, or any remissions of taxation that the Finance Member might announce in the Budget.¹

The third question is Police Reform. I should have been glad had we been able to make public our proposals upon the Report of the Commission without delay. But the Secretary of State desires to see the views of local Governments upon them before he comes to a final decision, and this must inevitably occupy some time. No one need imagine that the matter is being burked or shelved. But it is of such supreme importance that undue haste would merely prejudice the ultimate solution.

There are two other subjects to which His Highness the Aga Khan has alluded in his excellent and patriotic speech, and which have been for some time under my consideration. The first is the contributions made by the Indian princes in the shape of Imperial Service Troops and otherwise to the cause of Imperial defence. There are anomalies and inequalities in the present system which must strike the eye of any observer: and I contemplate, when I come back to India, taking the Chiefs into consultation on the matter.² The second is the future of the young officers in the Imperial Cadet Corps. I hope to arrive at definite conclusions on the matter before I leave for England a month hence. In the meantime let me assure the Aga Khan that there is nothing, in my view, wild or visionary in the ideas that have occurred to him. To what degree they may be practicable I cannot at present

¹ Compare with this passage the remaining speeches printed under the heading of Irrigation in this volume.

² The Viceroy carried out this intention, and received their replies. But the matter had not been brought to a final issue when he left India.

say. But they appear to me to be eminently deserving of consideration.¹

There are other matters which we have in view, such as legislation for the better protection of game in India, a most difficult subject upon which we have for long been engaged,² and many other items of administrative reform. I will not weary the Council with these. But as regards administrative reform in general, I should like to add a remark. When I came out to India every public body or society without exception that addressed me urged me to pursue a policy of administrative reform. Spare us, they said, adventure on the North-West Frontier, extend railways and irrigation, give us a sound currency, develop the internal resources of the country, promote educational and industrial advancement, manage plague and famine with a due regard to the feelings of the community, free the Government machinery from the many impediments to its proper working. I took these authorities at their word, and I have ever since pursued administrative reform, though not, I hope, to the exclusion of other and equally important objects, with an ardour that has never slackened. I have done so, because I think that these advisers were right. Efficiency of administration is, in my view, a synonym for the contentment of the governed. It is the one means of affecting the people in their homes, and of adding, only an atom perhaps, but still an atom, to the happiness of the masses. I say in no spirit of pride, but as a statement of fact, that reform has been carried through every branch and department of the administration, that abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and standards raised. It has not always been a popular policy; but if I am at liberty to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism is now more familiar to me than that no one in India desires administrative reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives them political concessions? Those are not my views. I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations

¹ It was decided in 1904 that the successful candidates after the three years' course should receive special Commissions in the Indian Army, and the first three were granted in 1905.

² *Vide* p. 435. A Bill was being prepared when Lord Curzon left India.

of the Indians towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development, and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons, for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price. The country and its educated classes are, in my view, making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, and they have every reason to be proud of what they have achieved. That progress will be continued, so long as they listen to the wise voices among their own leaders: but it will be imperilled and thrown back if it is associated with a perpetual clamour for constitutional change, and with an unreasoning abuse of those who do not grant it.

The charge, however, that we give an inadequate representation to the ability of the country in our Government is one that, though frequently repeated, has always seemed to me so fallacious that I have made a special attempt to analyse it, and I will conclude my speech by presenting to this Council the results of an investigation which I have had conducted into every branch of the administration, and which is so interesting, and I think to many people will be so surprising in its results, that I propose to publish it on behalf of Government.¹

Let me begin by stating what I conceive to be the general principles that regulate the situation. They are two in number. The first is that the highest ranks of civil employment in India, those in the Imperial Civil Service, though open to such Indians as can proceed to England and pass the requisite tests, must, nevertheless, as a general rule, be held by Englishmen, for the reason that they possess, partly by heredity, partly by up-bringing, and partly by education, the knowledge of the principles of Government, the habits of mind, and the vigour of character, which are essential for the task, and that, the rule of India being a British rule, and any other rule being in the cir-

¹ This was done in the form of a Government Resolution, issued in June 1904.

cumstances of the case impossible, the tone and standard should be set by those who have created and are responsible for it. The second principle is that outside this *corps d'élite* we shall, as far as possible and as the improving standards of education and morals permit, employ the inhabitants of the country, both because our general policy is to restrict rather than to extend European agency, and because it is desirable to enlist the best native intelligence and character in the service of the State.¹ This principle is qualified only by the fact that in certain special departments, where scientific or technical knowledge is required, or where there is a call for the exercise of particular responsibility, it is necessary to maintain a strong European admixture, and sometimes even a European preponderance.

Now let me show how these principles are vindicated in practice. I will not recapitulate the history of the case or conduct the Council through the successive stages of Government policy and pronouncement from the Act of 1833 down to the present day. I will give—what is much more eloquent—the concrete figures and proportions. They have been compiled for a period of 36 years, the figures not being available before 1867.

In 1867 the total number of Government posts in India with a salary above Rs. 75, now equivalent to £5 a month, was 13,431. It is now 28,278. In 1867 Europeans, and Eurasians held 55 per cent of the total; they now hold 42. Hindus held 38 per cent; they now hold 50. Mohammedans held 7 per cent; they now hold 8. Further, while the total number of Government appointments has thus increased by 110 per cent, the figures show that the number of posts held by Hindus has increased by 179 per cent, by Mohammedans 129 per cent, by Eurasians 106 per cent, and by Europeans only 36 per cent. In the proportion of total posts Indians have gained 13 per cent, Europeans and Eurasians together have lost 13 per cent, and 12 per cent of this loss has been European.

Next let me give the results of an examination by grades. More than half of the appointments in India are and always have been posts on less than Rs. 200 a month. The

¹ *Vide* pp. 223, 498.

European element in these was always small, and is now less than 10 per cent. Of posts on Rs. 200 to Rs. 300, the native proportion has risen from 51 per cent to 60 per cent; from Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 from 23 per cent to 43 per cent; from Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 from 21 per cent to 40 per cent; from Rs. 500 to Rs. 600 from 9 per cent to 25 per cent; from Rs. 600 to Rs. 700 from 15 per cent to 27 per cent; from Rs. 700 to Rs. 800 from 5 per cent to 13 per cent. Thus in no single grade has the proportion of Europeans increased, while the native increase has been continuous and striking, and has been larger in the higher grades than in the lower. The Rs. 800 line may be said to mark the limit of the Provincial Service. Between Rs. 800 and Rs. 1000 there were, in 1867, 4 natives in Government employ; there are now 93. Posts on Rs. 1000 and over may be regarded as superior. In 1867, out of a total of 648 such appointments, 12 were filled by natives, all Hindus, or a percentage of 2. In 1903, out of 1370 such appointments, 71 were filled by Hindus and 21 by Mohammedans; the native percentage being, therefore, 7.

If I take the standard of pay, I find that the aggregate pay of the total number of posts has risen by 91 per cent since 1867; but in the case of the aggregate pay drawn by Europeans and Eurasians the increase is only 6 per cent, while for natives of India it is 191 per cent, and for Hindus 204 per cent. The average pay of the total number of posts has fallen by Rs. 31, or 9 per cent, since 1867. But the average drawn by natives has risen from Rs. 173 to Rs. 188, or a rise of 7 per cent, while that drawn by Europeans and Eurasians has fallen by Rs. 2, or 4 per cent.

Whatever standard, therefore, we apply, whether it be number of posts, proportion of posts, or averages of pay, the results are the same. There has been a progressive increase in native employment and a progressive decline in European employment, showing how honestly and faithfully the British Government has fulfilled its pledges, and how hollow is the charge which we so often hear of a ban of exclusion against the children of the soil.

In the figures which will be published will be contained the calculations of each decade from 1867 to the present

day, so that the movement may be traced stage by stage, and of each province and each department. Summarising the totals, I find, as might be expected, and as I have said, that of the 1370 Government servants drawing salaries higher than Rs. 1000 a month, or £800 a year, 1263 are Europeans; of the remainder 15 are Eurasians, and 92 natives. But if I take the ranks below Rs. 1000 a month and between that total and Rs. 75 a month, *i.e.* from £60 to £800 a year, then I find that, out of a total of 26,908 Government servants, only 5205 are Europeans, while of the remainder 5420 are Eurasians, and the balance, or 16,283, is native.

It therefore appears that the British Empire employs less than 6500 of its own countrymen, whether brought from abroad or recruited in this country, to rule over 230 millions of people; but that for the same purpose it employs 21,800 of the inhabitants of the country itself. If we went below Rs. 75 a month, the disproportion would, of course, be overwhelming. Will any one tell me, in the face of these figures, that our administration is unduly favourable to the European or grudging to the native element? I hold, on the contrary, that it is characterised by a liberality unexampled in the world. You may search through history, and since the days of the Roman Empire you will find no such trust. I have endeavoured to procure from Foreign Governments the corresponding figures for their foreign possessions, the Russians in Central Asia, the Dutch in Java, the French in Algeria, in Cochin China, and Tongking. I have not, unfortunately, been successful. But I have visited the majority of those countries, and have seen what there prevails: and if any one thinks that they show proportions even remotely comparable with those which I have quoted, I can assure him that he is gravely mistaken. For my own part, I think that the progressive growth of confidence that is revealed by the tables which I have quoted is honourable to the British Government and honourable to the people of this country. It reveals a European system of Government entrusted largely to non-European hands: what is called a subject country, though I dislike the phrase, administered far less by the conquering power than by its own sons; and

beyond all it testifies to a steady growth of loyalty and integrity on the one part, and of willing recognition of these virtues on the other, which is rich with hope for the future.

I will now bring these remarks to a close. The Government of India in my time has been involved in many controversies, and has had to bear the brunt of much attack. Perhaps when the smoke of battle has blown aside it may be found that from this period of stress and labour has emerged an India better equipped to face the many problems which confront her, stronger and better guarded on her frontiers, with her agriculture, her industries, her commerce, her education, her irrigation, her railways, her army, and her police brought up to a higher state of efficiency, with every section of her administrative machinery in better repair, with her credit re-established, her currency restored, the material prosperity of her people enhanced, and their loyalty strengthened. We shall not deserve the main credit, because we have profited by the efforts of those who have preceded us. But perhaps we may be allowed our share; and may feel that we have not toiled, and sometimes endured, in vain.

SEVENTH BUDGET SPEECH (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL AT CALCUTTA)

March 29, 1905

I should like to congratulate my hon. colleague Mr. Baker upon the reception accorded to his first Budget. He has assumed charge of his important office in a year which is the culminating point up to date of the process of financial recovery that has been proceeding uninterruptedly for the past six years, and whose origin may be traced back still further to the foresight and prudence of Sir D. Barbour and Lord Lansdowne six years earlier.¹ I do not mean to say that a point has been reached from which we shall now decline. There is not, so far as I can see, the slightest ground for anticipating any such consequence. But the

¹ In closing the Mints to the free coinage of silver in 1893.

closer budgeting that has been employed in drawing up the estimates of revenue and expenditure for next year, the narrower margins that have been left, and the heavy and increasing calls that we have accepted for ensuing years in carrying out our great measures of administrative reform and military reorganisation, render it unlikely that my hon. friend will always be able to count upon similar surpluses, even if an unlucky change of wind does not drive him sooner or later into the financial doldrums.

Of course the most satisfactory feature of the Budget has been that Mr. Baker has been able at one and the same time to provide the means for a great increase in administrative outlay and for a reduction in the burdens of the people. That is the dream of the fortunate financier, which all cherish but few realise. I remember saying in the Budget debate a year ago that it would perhaps be too much good luck for one Viceroy to give two considerable reductions of taxation in his time; but that if I were not so fortunate, I should hope to bequeath the opportunity to my successor.¹ That successor has turned out to be myself: and I suppose that I may therefore congratulate myself, if not on my forecast, at least upon my good fortune. But in these remarks I must not be taken to assume the smallest credit for the surpluses that have been obtained year after year for the past six years. The head of the Government may, by the manner in which he conducts the affairs of the country at large and its foreign affairs in particular, exercise a considerable influence upon the scale of expenditure during his term of office; but apart from the general sense of confidence present in or absent from his administration, he cannot exercise much effect upon the revenue. Whether the price of opium per chest goes up or down, whether the railway returns are more or less, whether the customs revenue expands or recedes, whether the land revenue is stationary or shrinks, depends in the main upon circumstances outside of his control. I always think it therefore a very absurd thing to give credit to any individual for what is really the result of outside circumstances; and if any speaker at a public meeting who wished to denounce the head of the Government were to do

¹ *Vide* p. 131.

so by denying him all credit for the receipts of his Finance Minister, I should be the first to vote for the motion.

But, after all, surpluses are surpluses, and the case is not the same when it comes to disposing of them. I cannot therefore go so far as to agree with the critic who wrote the other day—"Unfortunately for our country, its revenues have somehow or other been leaving surpluses year after year since the beginning of His Excellency's rule." I wonder whether this critic would have preferred a succession of annual deficits. One can imagine what he would have said of the Viceroy in such a case. It is in the disposal of surpluses that, in my opinion, the responsibility of the head of the Government does most definitely come in. It is one of the first of his functions, in consultation with the Finance Minister and his colleagues, to consider the fair and equal distribution of the bounty which good fortune may have placed in their hands. I have found no more pleasing duty than this during the past six years: and in acting as we have done, it is no vain boast to say that we have proceeded throughout upon definite principles and on what seemed to us to be logical lines. My view has always been that as the revenue of this country comes in the main from the people of the country, it is to the people that the disposable surplus, if there be one, should return. And who are the people of whom I speak? They are the patient, humble millions, toiling at the well and at the plough, knowing little of budgets, but very painfully aware of the narrow margin between sufficiency and indigence. It is to them that my heart goes out. They are the real backbone of our economic prosperity. They give us nearly 20 millions sterling per annum in land revenue alone, or about one-fourth of our entire receipts.

And alongside of them are the artisan, the petty trader, the small shopkeeper, the minor official, the professional man of humble means,—numerically much smaller than the cultivating classes, but representing different and very important sections of the population—all relatively poor, and all entitled to some return when the State has the wherewithal to give. Hon. members can scarcely realise how anxiously year by year we have considered the claims of all these

classes and persons, and have endeavoured to apportion the relief equitably between them. A sufficient illustration may perhaps be found in the present Budget. What is the tax that touches all classes, down to the very humblest? It is the Salt Tax—and therefore we have brought it down to the lowest figure that it has reached since the Mutiny, certain that we have long passed the point at which middlemen can absorb the reduction, and that it must now filter down to the poorest strata of society. We thereby sacrifice nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling per annum in addition to the million sterling per annum that we surrendered when first we reduced the tax two years ago. A gift of $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions a year is one that, even with a population of this enormous size, is not to be despised. Then if we go on to ask what are the administrative needs that most affect the lower orders of the people in India, will not the reply at once be forthcoming—a purer, better paid, and more efficient police, superior opportunities for lifting themselves in the world by education, both in the rural and urban districts, the application of modern science and discovery to the one great staple industry by which the vast majority of them live, namely, agriculture, and provision for all those local needs in the shape of communications, sanitation, hygiene, etc., which mean the difference between comfort and destitution, health and disease, contentment and suffering, to millions of our fellow-citizens? And if for these purposes we have surrendered on the present occasion more than another million sterling per annum, will any one either grudge the existence of the surplus to start with, or the manner in which we have disposed of it? I daresay that there are other forms of relief which others would have preferred. In previous years we have benefited some of the classes who have now been left out. Who knows but that Mr. Baker may have a good turn to do to others some day later on? Speaking generally, however, my impression, surveying the entire field of Indian Taxation as I draw near to the end of my time, is that though there may be other taxes which we should like to lighten, and which certain classes of the community would perhaps like to see lightened still more, there is no tax at present imposed in India which can fairly be called burdensome or

oppressive, either because it takes out of a class more than they can reasonably pay, or because it cripples a trade or an industry. I think that there are very few even among the most advanced countries in the world of which such a statement could be made with equal truth.

Perhaps, however, as I have alluded to the present year as the culminating point in an era of financial progress, and as I have been discussing the means of remitting to the people the surplus product of their own industry, I may take the opportunity of pointing out to the Council what is the full measure of financial relief that the Government of India has been fortunate enough to afford to the taxpayer, since the period of surpluses began with the first Budget that I heard expounded at this table in 1899. The bounty of one year is apt to be swept out of sight by that of another, and totals are hardly realised until they are put before us in the naked reality of figures. I would divide the benefactions which have been made since 1899 under the following heads; and of course I only include in them those measures of relief which have been given outside of the ordinary expenditure of Government, and out of the surpluses which we have obtained.

In Remission of Taxation we shall have given in the seven years, including the financial year for which we are now providing, a total sum of $7\frac{3}{4}$ crores, or over 5 millions sterling. In special remissions of land revenue, and of interest and capital of loans, in both cases in connection with famine, we shall have given over 3 crores, or 2 millions sterling. For increased expenditure upon education, quite apart from the ordinary Imperial and Provincial grants, we shall have given over 2 crores, or £1,400,000. In grants for expenditure on purposes of local administrative amelioration, such as roads, bridges, water-supply, hospitals and dispensaries, sanitation, etc., we shall have given over $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores, or 3 millions sterling. Minor grants for special purposes, such as the 50 lakhs which are still waiting to be spent on the scheme for improving the congested parts of this great city—a scheme which in broad outlines has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State—amount to nearly $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores, or £800,000. The total sum, part of it non-recurring, but the

greater part of it to be continued year by year, that has been given back in my time to the people of India in the form of relief of taxation and other benefactions, amounts to over 19½ crores, or 13 millions sterling. I present these figures to hon. members as indications of the finance of what we sometimes hear described—though the remark does not appear to find an echo within this Chamber—as a reactionary régime. I am willing to let the figures speak for themselves. But there is a famous passage in a speech that was delivered in the House of Commons in 1858, that might be quoted also—“Where was there a bad Government whose finances were in good order? Where was there a really good Government whose finances were in bad order? Is there a better test in the long run of the condition of a people and the merits of a Government than the state of its finances?” That speech was delivered with direct reference to the Government of India, and the speaker was John Bright.

In my speeches in these Budget debates I have been in the habit from year to year of indulging in what in the phraseology of trade is called stock-taking, and of taking the public into the confidence of Government as to the administrative responsibilities which we had assumed or hoped to carry out. In my earlier years these remarks had necessarily to be couched in the future tense, and many were the criticisms that were then passed upon abortive inquiries and over-ambitious programmes. We do not hear so much of these now. Next year, if I am spared till then, will be my last Budget debate, and it will then perhaps fall to me to review the entire field of work and to show where we have achieved our purpose, and where we have failed. I remember writing to the Prime Minister who appointed me that seven years would be required for the task, unless it proved too much for the labourer's strength. I have sometimes wondered whether the onlookers ever weigh the latter consideration. We all look at the progress of the cart, and observe with shrill cries whether it is sticking in the ruts or getting on. But few spare a thought for the horse until perhaps it staggers and drops between the shafts, and then—why then—another animal is brought to take its place.

The first twelve reforms which I foreshadowed in 1899 are, I am glad to say, now accomplished;¹ the next twelve have been carried also;² and in the remaining year I hope we may carry to completion the third dozen also.³ When I speak of accomplishment and completion, I do not of course mean to suggest that there is, or can be, any finality in administrative work. It goes on like the seasons; and from each oak as it is planted fresh acorns fall. But there, after all, is the tree, a living and sprouting stem, a unit in the forest to be reckoned up, and perhaps also to gain in value as the time goes on. For instance, an institution like the North-West Frontier Province, which has admirably answered its purpose and has so far falsified all the predictions of its enemies, is a realised fact which no one is in the least degree likely to change, and which might give food for reflection to some who denounce the shifting of provincial boundaries as though it were a crime and an evil, instead of being, as it is capable of being, if wisely and opportunely carried out, a very considerable blessing.

I have no more to say about the accomplished reforms on the present occasion, and even in what I have said I hope that no trace of false exultation has crept in. Reforms in India may sometimes require an external impulse to start them. But they are the work of hundreds of agencies, some important and others obscure: and well do I know that nothing could be achieved, were it not for the co-operation of colleagues, to work with whom has been a six years' delight, for the wise counsel and cheerful industry of hundreds of faithful fellow-workers in all parts of the country, as well

¹ The list has been given on p. 76.

² They were the creation of Commerce and Industry Department, and other measures of commercial and industrial development, Land Revenue policy, Reduction of Taxation, institution of Permanent Provincial Settlements, Agricultural Banks, Agricultural Department and Institutes, Commemoration of Historic Buildings and Sites, foundation of Imperial Library, Reform of Chiefs' Colleges and creation of Imperial Cadet Corps, Mining Acts and Rules, new Famine Codes and Rules, Prevention of Calcutta Smoke Nuisance.

³ They were the Administrative Sub-Division of Bengal, Excise Reform, creation of Imperial Customs Service, Reorganisation of Survey Department and new Topographical Survey of India, extension of Imperial Service Movement, Game Law, Technical Education Scheme, Reorganisation of Political Department, Calcutta Improvement Scheme, European Nursing Service, policy of Tree-Planting, encouragement of Inland Navigation.

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also—and I gladly make the admission—as for the sometimes embarrassing, but often stimulating, influence of public opinion.

To-day I propose to confine my attention to such items of our programme as have been pushed several stages further towards completion during the past twelve months, and which, I hope, will be finally and firmly grounded before the year is over.

Hon. members will recollect that in the year 1899-1900 we had the last great Indian famine. That visitation must have left an indelible impression upon every one who was brought into close contact with it, whether in relation to its effect upon the physical condition and sufferings of the people, or to the economic position of the country as a whole. I have often stated my conviction that it will not be the last Indian famine. We may compete and struggle with Nature, we may prepare for her worst assaults, and we may reduce their violence when delivered. Some day perhaps, when our railway system has overspread the entire Indian continent, when water storage and irrigation are even further developed, when we have raised the general level of social comfort and prosperity, and when advancing civilisation has diffused the lessons of thrift in domestic expenditure and greater self-reliance and self-control, we shall obtain the mastery. But that will not be yet. In the meantime the duty of Government has been to profit to the full by the lessons of the latest calamity, and to take such precautionary steps over the whole field of possible action as to prepare ourselves to combat the next. It was for this purpose that we appointed the Famine Commission under that most expert of administrators, Sir A. MacDonnell, in 1901. Nearly four years have elapsed since then, and the general public has perhaps almost forgotten the fact. But the intervening period has not been spent in idleness. There is no branch of the subject, of famine relief, famine administration, and still more famine prevention, which has not been diligently ransacked and explored, and there is no portion of the recommendations submitted to us by the able Chairman and his lieutenants which has not been discussed with local Governments and been already made, or if not is about to

be made, the subject of definite orders. Instructions were first issued explaining the principles of famine relief as deduced from the experiences of the latest famine and the findings of the Commission. Then came a revision of the existing Famine Codes in each Province—for the conditions and the practice vary to a considerable extent. This has been a work of great labour. It is now all but complete. But the value of these revised and co-ordinated Codes will only be seen when the next struggle comes. Then they will be found to provide the armament with which each local Government in India will fight the battle.

The next stage was when the Irrigation Commission investigated the existing programmes of relief works throughout India, and submitted recommendations for their improvement and maintenance. These also are in course of being carried out, and special establishments have been sanctioned for the purpose.

Then there was a group of separate recommendations made by the Famine Commission which they included under the head Protective in the final part of their Report. These were in some respects the most important of all, for they related to broad measures of State policy demanding either executive or legislative action on the part of the Supreme Government. I must say a few words about some of these. One of them, the relief of agricultural indebtedness in the Bombay Presidency, still remains to be dealt with. A second, namely, the degree and nature of Government aid by means of loans to agriculturists, has also been treated by the Irrigation Commission, and is about to form the subject of a communication to the local Governments, in which suggestions are made for rendering the present system more simple, liberal, and elastic. A third, namely, Agricultural Development, has been made the subject of a separate speech by Sir D. Ibbetson this afternoon. Good fortune has presented us simultaneously with certain advantages for taking up this too long neglected branch of our duties in the last few years. Firstly, we have had the funds, which our predecessors had not; and hon. members have noted with particular approval the special grant of twenty lakhs which we have given for the purpose in the present Budget, and

which is only the precursor, as we hope, of larger sums to follow. Then we have had for the last five years a Finance Minister in Sir E. Law who took the warmest interest in agricultural development, and I believe derived more sincere pleasure from a successful agricultural experiment than he did from the yield of any impost. And finally, we have had in the hon. member for the Revenue and Agricultural Department¹ a perfect master of his subject, who to profound knowledge of the cultivating classes has added both a warm appreciation of their needs and a statesmanlike grasp of large ideas. The stone which I am to lay at Pusa in two days' time, will, I hope, be the foundation-stone not only of a fabric worthy of its object, but also of a policy of agricultural development henceforward to be pursued systematically, in good years and bad years alike, by the Government of India; so that a time may one day arrive when people will say that India is looking after her greatest living industry as well, let us say, as she is now looking after her greatest inherited treasure, viz. her ancient monuments.

There are two other objects which were recommended by the Famine Commission. The first of these was the institution of Co-operative Credit Societies, sometimes less correctly styled Agricultural Banks. Several hon. members now at this table will remember our legislation of last year, by which we provided for the foundation of such societies. There was no remark more frequently made in the course of the discussion or more obvious in its truism than that any steps in this direction must be slow and experimental, and that quick returns or striking results could not be expected. In many parts the spirit of co-operation has to be created before a co-operative institution can be built upon it. There is also a great deal of elementary preaching, or what an English statesman once called spadework, to be done before substantial results can be expected. But we have not been idle during the year. Specially selected officers have been appointed as Registrars of Co-operative Societies in the six main provinces, and they are now engaged in spreading a knowledge of the principles among the cultivating classes. The various concessions made by the Government of India

¹ Sir D. Ibbetson.

in order to lend encouragement—concessions in respect of income-tax, stamp duty, registration fees, and Government loans, have all been notified and are in operation. Three provinces have framed their Rules under the Act, in four provinces societies have already begun to be registered, Madras and Punjab having taken the lead. In addition to these is a much larger number of societies started, but not yet actually on the register. Here the United Provinces, which initiated the experiment in Sir A. MacDonnell's time, and which now possess 150 societies, are to the fore. Even in such distant provinces as Assam and Burma we hear of great interest being displayed and of applications being received. The statistical result is too immature to admit of quotation. But I have said enough to show that Government, having planted their seed, do not mean to let it perish from want of nurture. None of us can say whether it will develop into a healthy plant. But every chance shall be given to it.

The next matter to which I referred is one in which I have taken the keenest interest during my time in India, since it touches the marrowbone of that agricultural class of which I was speaking a little while back. I mean elasticity in Land Revenue collection, and greater liberality in suspension and remission of the fixed demand in times of distress, whether local or widespread. The Famine Commission dealt with this ; and we also laid it down among the principles to be adopted as accepted canons of Government in our Land Revenue Resolution of January 1902. But something more was required than the mere statement of an orthodox principle: and we have since been engaged, in consultation with the Secretary of State and the local Governments, in elaborating its operation—with results that will shortly be published. Already a fluctuating assessment, *i.e.* a demand that is capable of being varied from year to year, is accepted in practice by most local Governments and is applied to precarious tracts. What I am now referring to is elasticity in collection, *i.e.* an allowance for exceptionally bad seasons by the suspension or remission of payments due. This is an act of compassion on the part of the State, but it is compassion in a form little distinguishable from

justice; for it relates to cases and seasons in which the cultivator cannot pay his fixed demand, because the crops which he has reaped barely suffice for his own sustenance, and where, if he is called upon to pay it, he can only do so by plunging deeper into debt. In such a case rigidity of collection is not only a hardship but an injustice. It is to avoid such consequences, and at the same time to escape the opposite extreme of laxity in collection and the subsequent demoralisation of the people, that we are about to lay down the principles underlying this method of relief.¹

[Here followed a statement about Irrigation, which is printed under that heading.]

There are a few other subjects to which I must allude. The presence of the Hon. Mr. Hewett at this table and the speech which he has delivered indicate that we have in the past year obtained that which has for a long time been the cherished aspiration of the mercantile community, viz. a separate Department and Minister of Commerce and Industry. Six years ago I should have said that this was impossible; two years ago I did not regard it as likely. But the facts of commercial and industrial expansion cannot be gainsaid; and as soon as the case began to be made out, it was convincing in its logic and pertinence. The days are gone by when Government can dissociate itself from the encouragement of commercial enterprise. There used to be a sort of idea that business was an esoteric thing, to be conducted by a narrow clique, who were alone possessed of the oracles of wisdom, and with whom Government were hardly supposed to be on speaking terms. That was an absurd theory at any time. It is additionally absurd in a country like India, where the Government is responsible for so many forms of commercial and industrial activity, where it builds and works railroads, where it controls the sale of opium and salt, where it maintains gigantic factories, where it is engaged in undertaking the manufacture of its own cartridges and rifles and guns, and where it is the largest employer of labour in the country. And most absurd of all is it at a time when the whole air is alive with movement, rivalry, and competition,

¹ This was done by a Government Resolution in April 1905.

and when we desire to push our products, our manufactures, and our industries upon the attention of the world. I believe India to be merely at the beginning of its commercial expansion, and if I could revisit this Council Chamber fifty years hence, I believe I should find the Commercial Member of that day delivering an oration that would be reported throughout the East. There is only one word of appeal in which I would ask leave to indulge. I entreat my Indian friends not to regard the creation of a Department of Commerce as an agency for the promotion of British commerce alone. They could not make a greater mistake. Indian commerce, industry, and enterprise are as vital to this country as British—nay, I think more so. They have a future as bright before them. When we have to deal with great pioneers of Indian industry, such as the Tata family, they will tell you that they receive the warmest encouragement at our hands, and for my own part I should feel far happier if for every present Indian merchant-king there were a thousand, and for every lakh of Indian rupees invested in mercantile undertakings, a crore. Our new Department and its hon. member know no distinction of race: they are concerned only with the development of the country.

It is a part of the same policy that has induced us in the past year to create the new Railway Board which is now entering upon its duties. The idea is no new one. We make no pretence to be original. It has been advocated for years, by all those who wanted greater elasticity and less officialism in our system, and from the day that I surrendered temporary charge of the Public Works Department in 1899, having become conversant for a while with its working, I meant to get the reform sooner or later. It has taken six years to carry it out. Not that the old Public Works Department stands therefore condemned. That would be a most unjust and unfair assumption. It produced a series of brilliant and famous engineers. It overspread India with a network of railways. It eventually converted annual deficits into an assured surplus that has reached this year the magnificent figure of $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling, and it has handed over to the Railway Board a splendid property which it will rest with the latter to develop on commercial principles in

the future. I have sometimes seen the present administration accused of centralising tendencies. I have not time to argue that contention this afternoon. But if it be true, it is at least remarkable that it has been associated with the two greatest measures of decentralisation that have been achieved during the last fifty years, viz. the Permanent Financial Settlements with the Provincial Governments, and the institution of the Railway Board.

There is entered in the Budget the sum of 50 lakhs for Police Reform. That is only an instalment and a beginning. We accept with slight modifications the full recommendations of the Commission, and we intend to carry out their programme. The author of the Report is seated at my right hand,¹ and I should like to take this opportunity of publicly thanking him and his colleagues for their labours. No more fearless or useful report has ever been placed before the Government of India. I would gladly have taken action upon it sooner. But a long time has been required to consult the local Governments and to satisfy the Secretary of State. And now what is it that we have in view? I think that my feelings are those of every member of the Government. We want a police force which is free from the temptation to corruption and iniquity, and which must, therefore, be reasonably well paid, which must be intelligent and orderly and efficient, and which will make its motto protection instead of oppression. I confess that my heart breaks within me when I see long diatribes upon how many natives are to get employment under the new system, and how many Europeans. For my own part I have never paused to count them up. The Police Force in India must be an overwhelmingly native force; and I would make it representative of the best elements in native character and native life. Equally must it have a European supervising element, and let this also be of the best. But do not let us proceed to reckon one against the other, and contend as to who loses and who gains. The sole object of all of us ought to be the good of the country and the protection of the people. It is three years since in one of these debates I announced the appointment of the Police Commission, and

¹ Sir A. Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

since Sir John Woodburn, who sat in that chair, said that it would be the most important and far-reaching of any that I had appointed in my time. I am glad that I appointed it, and am proud of its work ; and when the reforms come into full operation, I am hopeful that they will be felt under every roof in this country.

At this stage I may perhaps interpolate a few remarks in reply to the concluding portions of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's speech. He seems to think that in my speech of last year,¹ and in the Resolution that followed it, were laid down new principles as regards the admission of natives of India to the public service. He referred to the Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. I am familiar with both those documents, and I also remember—which those who quote them sometimes forget—that the late Queen's words contained a qualification, not indeed modifying their generosity, but limiting their application by the necessary tests, firstly of practical expediency, and secondly of personal fitness. These were the words : "It is our will, that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge." There is not one sentence in that memorable paragraph from which any Government of India or any Governor-General has ever either desired or attempted to recede. But the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's historical references stopped short at 1858. He altogether forgot to mention the findings of the Public Service Commission of 1887, which deliberately laid down that the service in India should in future be divided into two branches, firstly, an Imperial Service called the Civil Service, to be recruited by open competition in England only ; and, secondly, a Provincial Service recruited in India, and consisting almost entirely of natives of this country. Our pronouncement of last year was a mere reaffirmation of the findings of that Commission. Even the phrase *corps d'élite*, which the hon. member seems to think originated with me, is taken from paragraph 73 of their Report. Let me further ask him more particularly to peruse paragraphs 74 and 91 of that document. He will

¹ *Vide* p. 143.

find that nothing was said last year, either by the Government of India or by myself, which has not been laid down with even greater authority by our predecessors ; and for the inference as to a change of policy which Mr. Gokhale has drawn in his speech to-day, there is, I can assure him, no foundation.

I am myself particularly immune from the suspicions to which the hon. member refers. I frequently see attributed to me personally the appointment of this or that European or Eurasian to some post or other in some part of India. The responsibility of the head of the Government of India is great, and I have never minimised it. But it is beyond human power that he should know every detail of the administration of 300,000,000 of people, and beyond reason that every subordinate act of the administration should be attributed to him alone. And really when I read of all the things that are explained by my personal intervention, while I appreciate the compliment, I am compelled to say that in quite nineteen cases out of twenty I have never even heard of them at all. If the hon. member were to go into the Departments of the Government of India he would find that I am there known as a strong partisan not of European, but of native appointments, wherever these can be made with sufficient regard to the test of personal fitness for the post. But, after all, is it not rather a vain exercise to dispute as to the exact number of places that are or are not given to this or to that class in an administration ? The hon. member will never find any reluctance on the part of Government to recognise and to forward the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen. But he must not be surprised if these generous tendencies are sometimes chilled, when almost every step that we take and every appointment that is made is liable to criticism that presumes the existence of a racial bias where none exists. He has cited the Despatch of the Court of Directors with which the Act of 1833 was sent out to India. Let me quote to him another paragraph from that Despatch. If I were to utter it as my own, I am afraid that I should be accused of illiberal sentiments. But with the distinguished imprimatur of the authors of the Act of 1833, it may carry some weight with the hon. member :—

We must guard against the supposition that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjected to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Government, and perhaps least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition, but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that Governments best minister to the public wealth and happiness. In effect, the free access to office is chiefly valuable where it is a part of general freedom.

With these words, which seem to me entirely wise, I will pass from the subject.

There is one duty that falls upon the Government of India to which I think that I have rarely, if ever, alluded in this Council, and that is the guardianship of Indian interests where they are liable to be impugned by external policy or influence. We resisted to the best of our ability the heavy charge of more than three-quarters of a million sterling that was imposed upon Indian revenues by the increase of pay in the British Army—a measure about which we were not consulted and with which we did not agree. We protested more successfully against the placing upon Indian revenues of the charge for the entertainment of the Indian guests at the Coronation in London. We were also successful in resisting the suggestion that India should pay £400,000 per annum for a call upon a portion of the British garrison in South Africa. We have now finally established the principle (disputed till a few years ago) that when we lend troops from India to fight campaigns for the Imperial Government in different parts of Asia and Africa, every rupee of the charge, from embarkation to return, shall be defrayed by the Imperial Government.

During the past few years we have been waging a similar battle in defence of the Indian emigrant in South Africa. For many years a system has prevailed under which unskilled Indian labourers have been encouraged to emigrate to the Colony of Natal for employment, chiefly in agriculture, though

find that nothing was said last year, either by the Government of India or by myself, which has not been laid down with even greater authority by our predecessors; and for the inference as to a change of policy which Mr. Gokhale has drawn in his speech to-day, there is, I can assure him, no foundation.

I am myself particularly immune from the suspicions to which the hon. member refers. I frequently see attributed to me personally the appointment of this or that European or Eurasian to some post or other in some part of India. The responsibility of the head of the Government of India is great, and I have never minimised it. But it is beyond human power that he should know every detail of the administration of 300,000,000 of people, and beyond reason that every subordinate act of the administration should be attributed to him alone. And really when I read of all the things that are explained by my personal intervention, while I appreciate the compliment, I am compelled to say that in quite nineteen cases out of twenty I have never even heard of them at all. If the hon. member were to go into the Departments of the Government of India he would find that I am there known as a strong partisan not of European, but of native appointments, wherever these can be made with sufficient regard to the test of personal fitness for the post. But, after all, is it not rather a vain exercise to dispute as to the exact number of places that are or are not given to this or to that class in an administration? The hon. member will never find any reluctance on the part of Government to recognise and to forward the legitimate aspirations of his countrymen. But he must not be surprised if these generous tendencies are sometimes chilled, when almost every step that we take and every appointment that is made is liable to criticism that presumes the existence of a racial bias where none exists. He has cited the Despatch of the Court of Directors with which the Act of 1833 was sent out to India. Let me quote to him another paragraph from that Despatch. If I were to utter it as my own, I am afraid that I should be accused of illiberal sentiments. But with the distinguished imprimatur of the authors of the Act of 1833, it may carry some weight with the hon. member:—

We must guard against the supposition that it is chiefly by holding out means and opportunities of official distinction that we expect our Government to benefit the millions subjected to their authority. We have repeatedly expressed to you a very different sentiment. Facilities of official advancement can little affect the bulk of the people under any Government, and perhaps least under a good Government. It is not by holding out incentives to official ambition, but by repressing crime, by securing and guarding property, by creating confidence, by ensuring to industry the fruit of its labour, by protecting men in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, and in the unfettered exercise of their faculties, that Governments best minister to the public wealth and happiness. In effect, the free access to office is chiefly valuable where it is a part of general freedom.

With these words, which seem to me entirely wise, I will pass from the subject.

There is one duty that falls upon the Government of India to which I think that I have rarely, if ever, alluded in this Council, and that is the guardianship of Indian interests where they are liable to be impugned by external policy or influence. We resisted to the best of our ability the heavy charge of more than three-quarters of a million sterling that was imposed upon Indian revenues by the increase of pay in the British Army—a measure about which we were not consulted and with which we did not agree. We protested more successfully against the placing upon Indian revenues of the charge for the entertainment of the Indian guests at the Coronation in London. We were also successful in resisting the suggestion that India should pay £400,000 per annum for a call upon a portion of the British garrison in South Africa. We have now finally established the principle (disputed till a few years ago) that when we lend troops from India to fight campaigns for the Imperial Government in different parts of Asia and Africa, every rupee of the charge, from embarkation to return, shall be defrayed by the Imperial Government.

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a few of them are engaged in coal-mines. The number proceeding yearly on five-year contracts is from 5000 to 6000, and there are now some 30,000 indentured Indians in the Colony. Their wages are good, and those of them who returned to India in 1903 brought back savings to the amount of over five lakhs of rupees, while Indians of all classes settled in Natal remit to their friends in India some thirteen lakhs of rupees annually. The indentured Indian is well treated, and so far as this class is concerned, the system of emigration to Natal is advantageous to India as well as to the Colony. But there is now in Natal a considerable population of British Indians, estimated at about 50,000, who are not working under indenture, and are therefore known as "free Indians." Some of them are men who have worked out their time but have decided to settle in the country, or the descendants of such men ; others are persons who have voluntarily proceeded to the Colony with the object of making a living there. Unfortunately the colonists entertain a rooted objection to this class of settlers, and have taken strong measures to discourage any increase in their numbers. Some of these measures have seemed to the Government of India to be unduly severe and inconsistent with the reasonable claims of the people of India as subjects of the British Empire ; and we have lost no opportunity of urging that the restrictions imposed on free Indians should be relaxed. More especially two years ago, when the Government of Natal sent delegates to us to discuss an arrangement under which Indian labourers should be compelled to return to India on the expiry of the term for which they were engaged, we required as an essential condition that they should make certain concessions in favour of the free Indians who were then settled, or who might desire to settle, in the Colony. We stipulated for the eventual abolition of a tax of £3 a head which had been imposed on such persons for leave to reside ; for the amendment of an Act placing traders, of however old a standing, under the power of local Corporations who had absolute authority to refuse licenses to trade ; for the removal of Indians from another Act, under which they were classed with barbarous races ; and for the provision of a summary remedy for free

Indians who might be wrongfully arrested on the ground that they were coolies under indenture or prohibited immigrants. In reply we were given to understand that there was no prospect of obtaining the consent of the local legislature to these conditions, and the negotiations were therefore dropped. The only concession that has been obtained as regards free Indians in Natal is the exemption of those who have been resident in the Colony for three consecutive years from the restrictions imposed on "prohibited immigrants" under the Immigration Restriction Act. That Act still requires immigrants (except those under indenture) to be able to write in some European language, and our endeavours to get ability to write in an Indian language accepted as a sufficient test of literacy have been unsuccessful. We have informed the Natal Government that we reserve to ourselves the fullest liberty to take at any time such measures in regard to emigration to that Colony as we may think necessary in order to secure proper treatment for our Indian settlers, and we have recently again declined to take any step towards facilitating the emigration of labourers under indenture until the Natal authorities substantially modify their attitude.

In no other South African Colony is there in force any system of immigration of Indian labour under indenture, and the number of British Indians at present resident in the Colonies other than Natal is comparatively small. Those Colonies have, however, evinced a similar spirit of opposition to the immigration of free Indians, and we have had a considerable amount of correspondence on the subject, especially as regards the Transvaal. Soon after that country came under British administration we addressed the Secretary of State for India, and urged that the opportunity should be taken to remove the restrictions and disabilities imposed by the Boer Government on British Indian subjects. In the course of the correspondence that ensued we were asked to agree to a scheme for the employment of 10,000 Indian labourers on the construction of Government railways in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies; and recognising that the need for Indian labour thus displayed might prove a powerful lever in our hands in securing better treatment for

Indians generally in South Africa, we expressed our readiness to consider the proposal if it was likely to lead to substantial concessions in favour of Indians not under indenture. We said that the least that we could accept would be (1) that Indian languages should be included in the literary test applied to new immigrants; (2) that residence in locations should be compulsory only upon those Indians in whose case the restriction is desirable for sanitary reasons; (3) that Indian traders who had established themselves under the former Government should be granted licenses permitting them to retain their present places of business; (4) that all Indians of superior class, including all respectable traders and shopkeepers, should be exempted from the Pass Law and the Curfew system and from the other restrictions imposed on the non-white population.

The Transvaal authorities declined to concede these demands in full, and we have therefore refused to establish a system of emigration of indentured labourers to that Colony. The outcome of the negotiations so far will be found in the Despatch sent on 25th July 1904 by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of the Transvaal, which was presented to Parliament in August last. In it the British Government supported all our main demands except the claim that future immigrants should not be required to be able to write in a European language. We have not yet heard what action has been taken on these instructions by the Transvaal Government.

I do not say that this is a pleasurable record. The problem is one for which it is exceedingly difficult to find a solution. Colonies possessing, or likely before long to possess, rights of self-government cannot be dictated to in such matters, and the feeling that exists among them is undoubtedly very strong. It has seemed to us to be our duty to do nothing to inflame that feeling, but to lose no opportunity of pleading the cause of those whose natural protectors we are, and to make no concession whatever until we obtain a full *quid pro quo* in return. I am confident that in this attitude we shall have the support of the entire Indian community.

I may name one more respect in which the Government

of India have, I think, faithfully championed the interests of the general community. I allude to their attitude on the Fiscal Question. I observe that the Hon. Mr. Cable, speaking to-day on behalf of the commercial community, has most strongly endorsed the correctness of the position that we took up in our Despatch of 22nd October 1903. A little while ago it was stated with some authority in England that that Despatch had been drawn up by us in a hurry, and that we were believed to have modified our views. There is no foundation for any such statement. We composed that Despatch with full deliberation. It represented our matured opinions. We have not departed from them in any particular; and if the Government of India were invited to enter a Conference, those I am confident would be the instructions with which our delegates from this end would proceed. Our claim is not merely that India should have a voice in the settlement of the question—that none will dispute—but that in any Imperial scheme there should not be imposed upon us a system detrimental to our interests or repugnant to our strongly entertained and unanimous views.

[Here followed a passage about Military Administration, which is reproduced under that heading.]

I have now concluded my picture, of some at any rate, of the activities upon which we are or have lately been engaged. I ask myself, is this in truth an unsympathetic and reactionary régime?¹ Is it likely that the individual who has allowed himself no rest or respite in his labours, be they successful or mistaken, for the Indian people, would endeavour to injure them or thrust them back? Is there a single class in the community who has been so injured? I will go further and say, is there a single individual? If there had been, should we not have heard of him to-day? Would a man who has devoted his whole life to preaching the lessons of the East, its history and traditions, who has often been rallied by his own countrymen for his enthusiasm

¹ This was an allusion to charges so frequently brought by the Congress Party against Lord Curzon's Government during the concluding years of his administration, and more particularly after his Convocation Address of February 1905, which is printed in this volume.

for the religions and monuments and literature of the East, and who has, while in India, given such abundant proofs of his reverence for faiths and feelings that are not his own—turn round and assail what he had hitherto revered? These questions I must leave others to answer. As for reaction, I console myself with the wise saying of Macaulay, "Ever since childhood I have been seeing nothing but progress, and hearing of nothing but reaction and decay."

For my own part, as the last year of my work in India opens, I look back upon the past not with any self-complacency—because while much has been done, much also remains undone—but with gratitude that the opportunity has been vouchsafed to my colleagues and myself of giving so definite an impulse to all that makes up the growth and prosperity of a people and the safety of an Empire, and with the sanguine conviction that none can sow as diligently and whole-heartedly as we have endeavoured to sow, without a harvest springing up—indeed the green shoots are already high above the ground—that will ten thousand times repay the exertion, and obliterate every scar.

AGRARIAN LEGISLATION

PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SIMLA)

At a meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla on October 19, 1900, a debate took place on the Punjab Land Alienation Bill (for the restriction of the right of land alienation to members of the same agricultural tribes). On the motion that the Bill be passed, the Viceroy spoke as follows :—

When the Government of India utilises its legislative power to pass what is certainly a drastic, and has been described in the course of these debates as a revolutionary, measure, affecting any subject, but more particularly affecting the land, there are two questions as to which it should, in my opinion, satisfy itself. The first is—has the existence of an evil, calling for legislative interference, been established? The second is—is the particular legislation proposed the right remedy?

The first of these questions we had answered to our own satisfaction a year ago. A careful study of the reports and returns, extending over a period of more than thirty years, had convinced the Government of India that the alienation of land in the Punjab, practically initiated by the British Power after annexation, is progressing with increased and alarming rapidity; that, in consequence of this progress, land is passing away from the hands of the agricultural classes, whom it is our policy to maintain upon it, and into the hands of classes or persons who, whatever the part that they may play in the economy of agrarian life, are not, in our judgment, either necessary or desirable as landholders; and that consequently a grave political as well as economic danger

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threatens the Province, which it is the bounden duty of Government to avert. Nothing that has occurred in the interim has tended to shake our confidence in the substantial justice of this conviction. On the contrary, I think that it has been strengthened by the evidence that has since poured in. We have been told, it is true, that there can be no political danger in leaving things as they are, because the discontent of the Punjab peasantry is never likely to take the form of active rebellion. I should be sorry to think that our political objections to a continuance of the *status quo* were supposed to be based upon such fears as these. It is not a disloyal peasantry that we apprehend. It is a despondent, debt-ridden, expropriated, and impoverished land-owning class, particularly a class recruited from the stable and conservative elements so forcibly described by the Hon. Mr. Tupper, which would be both a source of weakness to the Province and of alarm to the State. Again, it has been said to-day that the *sowkar*¹ is a very useful and even indispensable factor in rural life, who is quite content if he secures his reasonable profits, and has no *a priori* appetite for land. So far as I can see, the model money-lender whom I have described, and whose utility I do not dispute, will not be at all injured by this Bill. The zemindar will still require money, and the *buniya* will continue to provide it. But it is the Shylock, who insists upon his pound of flesh, and who, under the existing system, is in the habit of taking it in land, because it is the one security which his debtor can furnish, at whom we aim. A money-lending class I fully believe to be essential to the existing organisation of agrarian life in India; but we do not desire to see them converted into land-grabbers, either voluntary or involuntary, at the expense of the hereditary occupants of the soil.

I do not, therefore, feel any doubt as to the seriousness of the malady which we have been called upon to diagnose, and for which, if we value our responsibility, it is our duty to prescribe. But there arises the second question, whether we have, or have not, adopted the right prescription.

There is one objection that has been raised to our Bill,

¹ This *sowkar* or *buniya* is the money-lender.

which would equally apply to any Bill. It has been said that social customs and institutions cannot be changed by arbitrary dispositions, either of law or executive authority ; that they should be allowed to work out their own salvation ; and that, in the process of what is described as evolution, but is in reality only blind and irresponsible abnegation of control, the desired reform will some day come. With me this argument carries no weight ; for it is the argument, both of the optimist, in so far as it cheerily but thoughtlessly assumes that things, if left to themselves, will come right in the end, which I may observe in nine cases out of ten is not the case ; and of the pessimist, in so far as it contends that Governments ought not to attempt to solve problems, because their solution is hard ; while it is also in direct violation of historical facts. If successive British Governments had contentedly accepted the proposition that social and agrarian evils are not to be rectified by legislation, where, I wonder, would the boasted advance of the nineteenth century have been ? How would the men in our coal-mines, the women and children in our factories, ever have secured the full protection which they now enjoy ? Would labour have emancipated itself from the all-powerful control of capital ? Had they not been guaranteed by legislative enactments, where would the valued privileges of compensation for improvements, compensation for accidents, compensation for disturbance have been ? Even in India itself, how should we have built up the fabric of social and agrarian rights without the instrumentality of the law ? Finally, as regards this particular case of land in the Punjab, I do not see how there can be anything immoral or revolutionary in taking away or modifying a privilege which it is proved beyond possibility of doubt was for the most part one of our own arbitrary creation. If it is an improper thing to diminish or destroy proprietary rights in land because it involves an interference with the course of nature, equally was it an improper thing to create them as we did fifty years ago, when they did not already exist. You cannot apply the argument at one end of the scale without admitting it at the other. This is the answer to the plea of inviolable promises and inviolable rights that was put forward to-day

by Sir Harnam Singh. The objections in principle to legislation of this description may, therefore, I think, be disregarded.

There remains the question whether this particular Bill and the methods to which it proposes to give the sanctity of law are the best remedy that could have been devised. I have been a good deal struck in the discussion, both in Council and in print, by the absence of any alternative prescription. Inaction, I may point out, is not an alternative. It is only an evasion of responsibility. It does not, of course, follow, because no other suitable or likely remedy has been pointed out, that ours is the sole or the right one. Such a contention would be both illogical and foolish. But, given an evil which all admit, if the method of cure, or rather of prevention, which is suggested by the responsible physician is questioned, either by the patient or by the public, the onus, I think, lies upon the latter of indicating a better plan. The fact that, in the present case, no such rival panacea has been forthcoming, leads me to claim that the Government proposal, whether it be sound or unsound, at any rate holds the field.

I now turn for a few moments to the Bill itself. It will not be denied that we have proceeded with the various stages of its growth and enactment with singular care and deliberation. The Bill in its original shape was the outcome of years of patient study. In the form which it has now finally assumed, it also bears the impress of repeated reference, of diligent reconsideration, and of an anxious desire to meet, in no dogmatic frame of mind, the criticisms whether of expert authority or of public opinion. We should, I think, have been very obstinate and unwise had we adhered to every clause, or even to every leading feature, of the Bill as introduced last year. It was emphatically a case in which a reasonable spirit was called for, and in which some concession was required to the arguments of opponents, not for the mere sake of compromise, but in order to bring the measure into closer harmony both with the feelings of the community and with the needs of the case. It is in such a spirit that the Bill has been conducted

through Committee by the Hon. Mr. Rivaz, on whose behalf it will, I am sure, be admitted by all of his colleagues that, if he has been clear as to where to stand firm, he has also known exactly how to conciliate and where to yield. As a result of the labours of the Select Committee, for which I must, on behalf of the Government of India, thank all its members, the Bill now emerges a more efficient, a more elastic, and, therefore, a more workable measure. In the old Bill, for instance, the Revenue Officer's authority for every permanent alienation of land was made obligatory, even in cases of merely formal sanction to alienation between non-agriculturists. Now this sanction has been wisely dispensed with. Next, we have extended the maximum period of mortgage, when made by a member of an agricultural tribe outside his tribe or group of tribes, from fifteen to twenty years; we have added another form of mortgage which is likely to prove both serviceable and popular; and we have given power to the local Government to prescribe, in case of necessity, yet other variations. These are only a few among the many changes, and, as I think, improvements, which have been introduced into the Bill. I do not say that they have converted it into a perfect measure. I have seen enough of agrarian legislation in the British Parliament to know that it never attains perfection, that it often fails in what are thought in advance to be its most certain effects, and that strange and unforeseen consequences ensue. No doubt our Bill will not differ from English or Irish Land Bills in this respect. Some of its provisions will not do what is expected of them. Others will meet with a surprising and unexpected vogue. That is the fate of all experimental legislation; and that we are making a great experiment I for one have never denied. Given the desirability of making it, which I have already argued, the utmost that we can do is, as far as possible, to anticipate every likely consequence, and to graft upon it the wisdom of the most expert intelligence.

There are some features in the Bill upon which I admit that the arguments are very evenly balanced. It has been said, for instance, that we have drawn the restrictions too

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tight, that the phrase "agriculturist" is too narrow and inelastic a term, and that there should be no restriction upon dealings between members of that class. I am not insensible of the danger of unduly narrowing the market for the compulsory vendor, or again of excluding as a purchaser the *bonâ fide* cultivator who may not happen to fall within the agriculturist definition. But, on the whole, I think that, in these respects, we have gone as far as prudence and the main principles of our legislation allow. The embarrassed land-owner should find a sufficiently wide market within the limits of his tribal group; while the category of agriculturists is, as has been shown, neither so rigid nor so exclusive as has sometimes been assumed. Money-lenders are inside as well as outside it; nor need the credit of the debtor be permanently impaired for lack of a partner to the desired transaction.

As regards the future of this legislation, I will not be so rash as to prophesy. I should be treading upon too uncertain ground. One thing only I will predict, namely, that the gloomy forebodings of its opponents will not be realised. The case for the Opposition, as I may call it, has been stated upon a previous occasion in this Council, and again to-day, as well as in a printed Minute of Dissent, by the Hon. Sir Harnam Singh. If we are to believe the opinions which he has expressed or recorded at different stages, and I quote his actual words, the majority of the peasant proprietors of the Punjab are to be reduced by this Bill to a state of serfdom worse than that of the Middle Ages; it is to be followed by the impoverishment of millions of men living upon the soil; it is to doom the people to perpetual misery, and to destroy their happiness and contentment; British prestige will be rudely shaken; agricultural credit will be destroyed; and the progress of the province will be retarded for at least fifty years. Every age and every epoch has had its Cassandra, and I do not complain of my hon. friend for donning the familiar garb. I venture, however, to think that, if his superlatives had been fewer, his invective would have been more convincing, and that his vaticinations will be found to have been a good deal exaggerated. If this be so, I am

confident that no one will be better pleased than the hon. member himself. I will not rush to the opposite extreme. I have no intention of claiming that universal peace, or prosperity, or affluence, will settle down upon the land in consequence of this Bill. Far from it. There are many questions as to the future to which I should hesitate to give a confident reply. Will this measure really secure to the agricultural tribes of the Province the full possession of their ancestral lands? Will it restrain them from reckless borrowing? Will it save them from the mesh of the usurer? Or, while protecting them from usurers of other castes, will it hand over the feebler and less thrifty units in the class to the richer and more powerful members of the tribe? Or, again, will it effectually divorce the money bags of the province from the one form of investment which has always been dear to successful speculation? It would require a keener insight than mine to answer such questions with any certainty. It may be permissible, however, to anticipate that, while all of these consequences will to some extent ensue, no one will follow to the exclusion of the others. The moneyed classes, the *nouveaux riches*, will still have their opportunity of obtaining land, but not on such easy terms as in the past. The agricultural tribesmen will not all in a moment be converted to frugal or provident habits; but the opportunities and the temptations of borrowing will, it is hoped, be less. The weakling and the spendthrift will still go under, and his possessions will pass to his stronger brethren. But the transfer will be more frequently to men of his own tribe or tribal group, and less frequently to outsiders who are not connected either with the traditions or with the traditional occupation of the Province. The transition will not be abrupt or sensational. It will be enough if, though gradual, it is sure. I shall myself watch the venture with the warmest sympathy and interest, not merely because I have been head of the Government of India at the time when this Bill has passed into law, nor because I know it to have been framed with the most conscientious regard for the public interest, but because it is the first serious step in a movement which is designed to free the agricultural classes in this country—the bone

and sinew of our strength—from an incubus which is slowly but steadily wearing them down.¹

AGRICULTURAL BANKS (LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, CALCUTTA)

In the Legislative Council at Calcutta on March 23, 1904, on the motion that the Bill to provide for the constitution and control of Co-operative Credit Societies be passed into law, the Viceroy spoke as follows:—

It is a pleasure to find to-day that we are all so unanimous, and that in the contemplation of this measure the lion has lain down with the lamb. The Hon. Dr. Mukerji remarked that this Bill is our first serious effort to deal with the problem of agricultural indebtedness in India. That is not quite the case. In October 1900 in a speech upon the introduction of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill at Simla, I made the remark that that Bill was the commencement of a series of ventures upon which I hoped that the Government would embark to deal with this very problem. I described it as a canker eating into the vitals of the national life, and as one of the questions which I hoped to do a little to press forward to solution during my time. A year later, we passed that Bill into law amid the most dismal prophecies from the Punjab native representative on the Legislative Council, as to the irreparable ruin that it was going to bring upon the peasantry of the Punjab. I am glad to say that those predictions have been entirely falsified by events; and only the other day, I was called upon to sanction the extension to the greater part of the North-West Frontier Province of the provisions of the Act, which have, on the whole, proved so acceptable in the Punjab that an agitation for their application across the border had been growing ever since. Last year we took similar action in Bundel-

¹ The operation of the Act has, so far, confirmed the most favourable hopes. In the Punjab itself it has been a success. It has since been extended, at the request of the people, to the settled districts of the N.W. Frontier Province, and has been copied in Bundelkund, where a similar problem presented itself. The question has even been raised of applying it to other and larger areas.

khund, where not only has the power to alienate land been restricted in future, but an effort is being made to clear off the existing debt of the agricultural population. Similar measures were recommended for Bombay by the Famine Commission. These undertakings relate to one aspect of the problem of indebtedness. To-day we are giving the authority of the law to an attempt to deal with another. From one point of view, it is the inverse aspect ; for while such measures as the Punjab Land Alienation Act must necessarily, however successful they may be, involve some curtailment of credit—a drawback compensated twenty times over by the accompanying gains—the object of this Bill is not to curtail credit but to increase it, while avoiding the evils which have sprung from the great expansion of credit caused by the conferment of the full right of transfer of land upon classes untrained to its exercise.

The promotion of agricultural enterprise by an increase in the available capital may be described as a prime duty of any Government administering a large rural population. All producers, even the poorest, require capital, and the Indian raiyat by no means least. But the conditions under which alone he can procure it in this country are so onerous, he is so apt to dissipate it when acquired by a sort of traditional improvidence, and the consequences of his indebtedness are so disastrous and even appalling, that there seems to be a special obligation upon the Government of India to come to his assistance in such ways as we legitimately can.

One of the methods that we adopt for this end in India is by *takavi* loans under the Land Improvement or Agriculturists' Relief Acts. I doubt if the public is fully aware of the extent of the assistance that is thereby given, particularly in times of distress. In 1902-03, for instance, the total advances to cultivators amounted to three-quarters of a crore or half a million sterling, of which more than half was in Bombay. But it is difficult for this form of assistance to reach all who are in need, and there are practical drawbacks in the operation of the system which are now under the independent consideration of Government.

Here we are initiating an independent but allied experi-

ment which is to make the cultivating classes themselves the borrowers, improving their credit, developing their thrift, and training them to utilise for their own benefit the great advantage which the experience of other countries has shown to lie in the principle of mutual co-operation. I used the word experiment. But I am not sure that this is not rather too strong ; for undoubtedly the reports of able officers, such as Sir F. Nicholson and Mr. Dupernex, and the practical working of a limited number of institutions in different parts of the country, some of them started by enthusiastic officers on their own account, have already provided us with some measure of guidance as to what we ought to aim at, and what to avoid.

A year ago in my Budget speech I stated some of the fundamental differences of opinion that had emerged from the reference to local Governments which we had just undertaken.¹ There was really nothing surprising in this. Many of those whom we consulted had had no practical experience and were only able to give *a priori* replies. Moreover, the co-operative system is itself not at all widely understood ; and the degree to which Government assistance should be given was as much in dispute as were the nature and limitation of the objects for which loans should be allowed. During the year that has passed each of these disputed points has had to be examined by Government, and has since been further elucidated by the labours of the very competent Select Committee whom we were fortunate enough to assemble for the consideration of the Bill. The principles that have characterised the great majority, if not the whole, of the changes that have been introduced by them, have everywhere been the same—greater simplification and more freedom. Let the measure be hampered by as few restrictive provisions as possible ; and let it be adaptable to the varying conditions of different parts of the country and sections of the people.

There is one point on which there seems to have been some misconception, and which it is desirable to make clear. I have seen it complained that Government might have been a good deal more liberal in initiating so great an experiment,

¹ *Vide* p. 126.

and that part of what we take from the people in land revenue we might very appropriately give back to them in capital for these societies. These views, plausible as they may seem, rest upon a complete misconception both of the co-operative system, and of the policy of Government with regard to this particular scheme.

It is not primarily because the financial contribution that might have been required to assist every new institution would be great, or because we grudge the money, that so little is said about grants-in-aid by the State, but because the best advice and the teachings of experience are at one in the conclusion that unrestricted Government assistance is a dangerous and may be a fatal gift. "Prolonged or indiscriminating State aid," says Mr. Henry Wolff, who is an unrivalled authority on the matter, "is destructive of self-help. The State aid given in Germany, France, and Austria has been productive of much mischief,—the creation of a great deal of bogus co-operation, which has resulted in loss and done no good to the people." For similar reasons no special powers of recovery of debt have been given to the societies. The object is to foster a spirit of responsibility and self-reliance; and it is because the societies must be dependent for their success on their own care and caution in the disbursement of their funds, that it has been possible to dispense with restrictions on their powers in the Bill that would otherwise have been necessary. Government aid will be forthcoming when necessary, and there is more danger to be apprehended from excessive liberality than from the withholding of assistance where there is a prospect of its proving advantageous. It will be necessary rather to restrict the extent to which local Governments may give subventions than to urge them to generosity. If the societies fail in the absence of State aid, and from not having more arbitrary powers of recovering their debts, it will not be because those conditions are essential to the success of the movement, but because there is an organic weakness in the co-operative system as understood and applied in this country.

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I am hopeful, however, that this will not be the case. Like Sir D. Ibbetson, who has evolved and conducted this

measure with equal insight, ability, and sympathy, I refrain from any confident predictions. I think it quite likely that in some parts of the country the experiment will fail, and that societies will either not be started or after a short existence will disappear. Even where they succeed, I do not imagine for a moment that borrowing at high rates of interest will be done away with altogether, or that we shall replace destitution by relative affluence. But let us assume the most modest degree of success. Let us contemplate in districts or towns or villages, here and there, a few of these institutions coming into existence and gradually striking their roots into the soil. Each tree so rooted will ultimately cast its own shade, and will be the parent of others ; and if in a few years' time I were to hear that the experiment had never germinated at all in one province, while it was bearing humble but healthy fruit in another, I should yet think it justified.

What I desire to point out, however, is this. Here is a sincere and patient effort to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry of what we are constantly being told is the poorest country in the world. Not a day passes in which hundreds of articles are not written in the native press to prove that the material interests of those poor people are neglected or ignored by an alien Government, and are only correctly understood by the leaders of the native community. I am far from accepting this statement of the case. When I find a European member of this Council, the Hon. Mr. Hamilton, spontaneously offering a loan of Rs. 20,000 to finance a number of small banks at the start, and when I hear of a distinguished civil servant, such as Sir F. Nicholson, coming back after his retirement from the service to reside in this country and to help a number of these societies on their way, it seems to me that European sympathy is capable of taking a very practical shape. As to native sympathy, I cannot believe that for an object so beneficent, and in interests so unselfish, it will not equally be forthcoming. If these societies could be firmly established even in a hundred places in India, greater good, I venture to think, would be done to the people in those areas than by a decade of political agitation. More places on this or

that Council for a few active or eloquent men will not benefit the raiyat. What he wants is the loosening of the bondage of debt which bows him down. Anything that will give him greater self-reliance, and teach him to look not only to Government or to its officers but to himself, will be to the good. If the feeling that he should be helped is as strong and as sincere as I believe it to be among the native community, they have in this Bill an unrivalled opportunity of giving a practical and unostentatious demonstration of their sympathy with the most deserving and the most helpless class of their own countrymen. Will they take it? Government has played its part. I invite them to play theirs.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND ANCIENT MONUMENTS

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

ON February 7, 1900, Lord Curzon attended the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was the Patron, and addressed the Society in the following terms:—

I hope that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect of Ancient Buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independent study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archæology which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom, of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants,—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recogni-

tion of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if indeed any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries. There abundant private wealth is available for the acquisition or the conservation of that which is frequently private property. Corporations, societies, endowments, trusts, provide a vast machinery that relieves the Government of a large portion of its obligation. The historic buildings, the magnificent temples, the inestimable works of art, are invested with a publicity that to some extent saves them from the risk of desecration or the encroachments of decay. Here all is different. India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are, for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out-of-the-way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient building the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience. All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon Government in India. If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple

of the Brahmans stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mohammedan Musjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past and helps us to read its riddles and to look it in the eyes—these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look. Much of ancient history, even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess-work. It is only slowly being pieced together by the efforts of scholars and by the outcome of research. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand—in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age.

Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the third century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier. At that time the palaces of Chaldæa and Nineveh, the Pyramids and the rock tombs of Egypt, were already thousands of years old. We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Mohammedan structure in this country, was built within a century of Westminster Hall in London, which we are far from regarding as an ancient monument. As for the later glories of Arabian architecture at Delhi, at Agra, and at Lahore, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we regard in England as the last product of a dying archi-

tectural epoch, were already grey when they sprang, white and spotless, from the hands of the masons of Akbar and Shah Jehan ; while the Taj Mahal was only one generation older than Wren's Renaissance fabric of modern St. Paul's.

There is another remarkable feature of the majority of Indian antiquities—of those at any rate that belong to the Musulman epoch—that they do not represent an indigenous genius or an Indian style. They are exotics, imported into this country in the train of conquerors, who had learnt their architectural lessons in Persia, in Central Asia, in Arabia, in Afghanistan. More than a thousand years earlier a foreign influence had exercised a scarcely less marked, though more transient, influence upon certain forms of Indian architecture. I allude to the Greek types which were derived from the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms that were founded upon the remains of Alexander's conquests, and which in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era profoundly affected the art and sculpture of North-West India and the Punjab. Indian sculptures or Indian buildings, however, because they reflect a foreign influence or betray a foreign origin, are not the less, but perhaps the more, interesting to ourselves, who were borne to India upon the crest of a later but similar wave, and who may find in their non-Indian characteristics a reminiscence of forms which we already know in Europe, and of a process of assimilation with which our own archæological history has rendered us familiar. Indeed a race like our own, who are themselves foreigners, are in a sense better fitted to guard, with a dispassionate and impartial zeal, the relics of different ages and of sometimes antagonistic beliefs, than might be the descendants of the warring races or the votaries of the rival creeds. To us the relics of Hindu and Mohammedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain, are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid and the other a weaker emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power.

If, however, the majority of the structural monuments of India, the topes and temples, the palaces and fortresses and tombs, be of no exceeding antiquity in the chronology of architecture, and even if the greater number of those at any rate which are well known and visited are not indigenous in origin, it remains true, on the other hand, that it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archæologist in India will in future lie. The later pages of Indian history are known to us, and can be read by all. But a curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample.

If then the question he asked, how has the British Government hitherto discharged, and how is it now discharging its task, what is the answer that must be returned? I may say in preface that were the answer unfavourable—and I will presently examine that point—we should merely be forging a fresh link in an unbroken historic chain. Every, or nearly every, successive religion that has permeated or overswept this country has vindicated its own fervour at the expense of the rival whom it had dethroned. When the Brahmans went to Ellora, they hacked away the

features of all the seated Buddhas in the rock-chapels and halls. When Kutub-ud-din commenced, and Altamsh continued, the majestic mosque that flanks the Kutub Minar, it was with the spoil of Hindu temples that they reared the fabric, carefully defacing or besmearing the sculptured Jain images, as they consecrated them to their novel purpose. What part of India did not bear witness to the ruthless vandalism of the great iconoclast Aurungzeb? When we admire his great mosque with its tapering minarets, which are the chief feature of the river front at Benares, how many of us remember that he tore down the holy Hindu temple of Vishveshwar to furnish the material and to supply the site? Nadir Shah during his short Indian inroad effected a greater spoliation than has probably ever been achieved in so brief a space of time. When the Mahratta conquerors overran Northern India, they pitilessly mutilated and wantonly destroyed. When Ranjit Singh built the Golden Temple at Amritsar, he ostentatiously rifled Mohammedan buildings and mosques. Nay, dynasties did not spare their own members, nor religions their own shrines. If a capital or fort or sanctuary was not completed in the lifetime of the builder, there was small chance of its being finished, there was a very fair chance of its being despoiled, by his successor and heir. The environs of Delhi are a wilderness of deserted cities and devastated tombs. Each fresh conqueror, Hindu, or Moghul, or Pathan, marched, so to speak, to his own immortality over his predecessor's grave. The great Akbar in a more peaceful age first removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra, and then built Fatehpur Sikri as a new capital, only to be abandoned by his successor. Jehangir alternated between Delhi and Agra, but preferred Lahore to either. Shah Jehan beautified Agra, and then contemplated a final return to Delhi. Aurungzeb marched away to the south, and founded still another capital, and was himself buried in territories that now belong to Hyderabad. These successive changes, while they may have reflected little more than a despot's caprice, were yet inimical both to the completion and to the continuous existence of architectural fabrics. The British Government are fortunately exempt from any such prompt-

ings, either of religious fanaticism, of restless vanity, or of dynastic and personal pride. But in proportion as they have been unassailed by such temptations, so is their responsibility the greater for inaugurating a new era and for displaying that tolerant and enlightened respect to the treasures of all which is one of the main lessons that the returning West has been able to teach to the East.

In the domain of archæology, as elsewhere, the original example of duty has been set to the Government of India by individual effort and by private enthusiasm; and only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task. The early archæological researches conducted by the founders and pioneers of this Society, by Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, and Prinsep, and by many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*, were in the main literary in character. They consisted in the reconstruction of alphabets, the translation of manuscripts, and the decipherment of inscriptions. Sanscrit scholarship was the academic cult of the hour. How these men laboured is illustrated by the fact that Prinsep and Kittoe both died of overwork at the age of forty. Then followed an era of research in buildings and monuments; the pen was supplemented by the spade, and, in succession, descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings, and in later days photographs and casts, gradually revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unrifled quarries of Hindustan. In this generation of explorers and writers, special honour must be paid to two names: to James Fergusson, whose earliest work was published in 1845, and who was the first to place the examination of Indian architecture upon a scholarly basis, and to General Sir A. Cunningham, who only a few years later was engaged in the first scientific excavation of the Bhilsa topes. These and other toilers in the same field laboured with a diligence beyond praise; but the work was too great for individual exertion, and much of it remained desultory, fragmentary, and incomplete.

Meanwhile the Government of India was concerned with laying the foundations and extending the borders of a new Empire, and thought little of the relics of old ones. From time to time a Governor-General, in an excess of exceptional

enlightenment or generosity, spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a Committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Kutub Minar. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction arrangements for the examination, delineation, and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities. But these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than the collection of a few drawings and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs. How little the leaven had permeated the lump, and how strongly the barbarian still dominated the æsthetic in the official mind, may be shown by incidents that from time to time occurred.

In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles.¹ The same Governor-General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's Palace at Agra, which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV., but had somehow never been despatched. In the same régime a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the executive engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Mohammedan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some *bunias'* shops, which, when built, were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindu - Musulman mosque at Ajmer were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day² was to pass. James Fergusson's books sound one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder and the mili-

¹ This statement was made on official authority. But there is reason to think that it is an exaggeration, based on a careless remark by Sir W. Sleeman.

² The Earl of Mayo.

tary engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and, within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hill-top at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldier and the relics, not yet entirely obliterated, of his occupation of the Palace in the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guide-books of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jehan. It is not yet thirty years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical doctrinaires appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date, when picnic parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel, with which they wiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and carnelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen. Indeed, when I was at Agra the other day, I found that the marble tomb of Shah Jehan in the lower vault, beneath which his body actually lies, was still destitute of much of its original inlay, of which I ordered the restoration.¹

That the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own. When Fergusson wrote his book, the Diwan-i-Am, or Public Hall of Audience, in the Palace at Agra was a military arsenal, the outer colonnades of which had been built up with brick arches lighted by English windows. All this was afterwards removed. But when the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost ; and a fresh coat of whitewash was plentifully bespattered over the sandstone pillars and plinths of the Durbar Hall of Aurungzeb. This too I hope to get removed.² When His

¹ This has been completed, and the entire fabric of the Taj, as well as the surrounding buildings, are now in a state of perfect repair. *Vide* p. 198.

² It was generally believed that the pillars retained their original red sandstone appearance throughout the Moghul epoch. But careful examination has shown

Royal Highness was at Delhi, and the various pavilions of Shah Jehan's Palace were connected together for the purposes of an evening party and ball, local talent was called in to reproduce the faded paintings on marble and plaster of the Moghul artists two and a half centuries before. The result of their labours is still an eyesore and a regret. When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jehangir exactly three hundred years ago, still used for the profane purpose to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, viz. as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brick-work, and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen.¹ Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mohammedan predecessors, and half a century of British military occupation, with its universal paint-pot, and the exigencies of the Public Works engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to rescue the main buildings of the Moghul Palace from these two insatiable enemies. At Ahmedabad I found the mosque of Sidi Sayid, the pierced stone lattice-work of whose demi-lune windows is one of the glories of India, used as a tehsildar's cutcherry, and disfigured with plaster partitions and the omnivorous whitewash. I hope to effect the re-conversion of this building.² After the conquest of Upper Burma in 1885, the Palace of the Kings at Mandalay, which, although built for the most part of wood, is yet a noble specimen of Burmese art, was converted by our conquering battalions into a Club-house, a Government Office, and a Church. By degrees I am engaged in removing these superfluous denizens, with the idea of preserving the building as a monument, not of a dynasty that has

that they were plastered and painted even at that time, as was the Diwan-i-Am at Delhi (which was stripped after the Mutiny); and all that it has been possible to do in the shape of restoration in the Agra Hall is to renew the plaster with as much verisimilitude as possible to the earlier layers which are hidden below.

¹ The restoration has since been effected, *vide* p. 201.

² This has now been done, *vide* p. 200.

vanished never to return, but of an art that, subject to the vicissitudes of fire, earthquake, and decay, is capable of being a joy for ever. There are other sites and fabrics in India upon which I also have my eye, which I shall visit, if possible, during my time, and which I shall hope to rescue from a kindred or a worse fate.

These are the gloomy or regrettable features of the picture. On the other hand, there has been, during the last forty years, some sort of sustained effort on the part of Government to recognise its responsibilities and to purge itself of a well-merited reproach. This attempt has been accompanied, and sometimes delayed, by disputes as to the rival claims of research and of conservation, and by discussion over the legitimate spheres of action of the central and the local Governments. There have been periods of supineness as well as of activity. There have been moments when it has been argued that the State had exhausted its duty or that it possessed no duty at all. There have been persons who thought that when all the chief monuments were indexed and classified, we might sit down with folded hands and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that railways and irrigation did not leave even a modest half lakh of rupees per annum for the requisite establishment to supervise the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world. Nevertheless, with these interruptions and exceptions, which I hope may never again recur, the progress has been positive, and, on the whole, continuous. It was Lord Canning who first invested archaeological work in this country with permanent Government patronage by constituting, in 1860, the Archaeological Survey of Northern India, and by appointing General Cunningham in 1862 to be Archaeological Surveyor to Government. From that period date the publications of the Archaeological Survey of India, which have at times assumed different forms, and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute, on the whole, a noble mine of information, in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil. For over twenty years General Cunningham continued his labours, of which these publications are the memorial.

Meanwhile orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India, local surveys were started in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay Survey being placed in the capable hands of Mr. Burgess, who was a worthy follower in the footsteps of Cunningham, and who ultimately succeeded him as Director-General of the Archaeological Survey. Some of the native States followed the example thus set to them, and either applied for the services of the Government archæologists, or established small departments of their own.

In the provinces much depended upon the individual tastes or proclivities of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, just as at headquarters the strength of the impetus varied with the attitude of successive Viceroys. Lord Northbrook, who was always a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of local Governments; and in his Viceroyalty Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of renovation and repair at Agra—a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the Palace of Shah Jehan. The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in the North-West Provinces, and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Curator of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried out by his successor, Lord Ripon. During the three years that Major Cole held this post, from 1880 to 1883, much excellent work in respect both of reports and classification was done; and large sums of money were given by the Government of India, *inter alia*, for repairs in the Gwalior Fort and at Sanchi Tope. But at the end of this time succeeded a period of some reaction, in which it appeared to be thought that the task of the Central Government, in the preparation of surveys and lists, was drawing to a close, and that local Governments might, in future, be safely entrusted with the

more modest, but, I may add, not less critical, duty of conservation. More recently, under Lord Elgin's auspices, the archaeological work of Government has been placed upon a more definite basis. The entire country has been divided into a number of circles, each with a surveyor of its own, and while the establishment is regarded as an Imperial charge, the work is placed under local control and receives such financial backing as the resources of the local Governments or the sympathies of individual Governors may be able to give it. In the North-West Provinces, where I was recently touring, I found Sir A. MacDonnell worthily sustaining, in point of generous and discriminating sympathy, the traditions that were created by Sir John Strachey.

For my part, I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archaeological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the tax-payers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archaeological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge.

ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL

In the Legislative Council at Calcutta, on March 18, 1904, on the motion that the Bill to provide for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments be passed into law, the Viceroy spoke as follows:—

In a session which embraces a good deal of contentious business, it will, I think, be a pleasure to all of us to pass into law a Bill which has been received without a discordant note by all classes of the community, to which no one has come forward to move an amendment, and which will presently take its place, to use the classical phrase, *nemine contradicente*, on the Statute-book. The principle of the Bill is the sound, and, as I think, irrefragable proposition that a nation is interested in its antiquities—an interest which is based on grounds alike of history, sentiment, and expediency,—and that it is reasonable and proper to give statutory sanction to the maintenance of this principle by the State. In the somewhat frigid language of the preamble, the object of the measure, more specifically stated, is “to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities, and over excavation, and for the protection and acquisition of ancient monuments and of objects of archaeological, historical, or artistic interest.” In pursuing these ends we have endeavoured, as far as possible, to enlist private co-operation, to exercise the minimum of interference with the rights of property, to ensure a fair price in the event of compulsory purchase, and to pay most scrupulous deference to religious feelings or family associations. The Bill will require to be administered with sympathy and discretion. But I trust the awakened conscience of all sections of the community in respect of our duty to the past to save us from friction or trouble, and I believe myself that private effort will gladly combine with Government for the furtherance of objects in which both are equally concerned. For the individual owner is as much the trustee for his particular archaeological possession as the Government is the general trustee on behalf of the nation at large.

The Bill is, however, even more than its stipulations imply. It is in reality the coping-stone of a policy in respect of archaeology and the remains of the past which the Government of India have pursued, with fits and starts, throughout the past half century, but with sustained and unremitting ardour during the past few years. I had been in India more than once as an ordinary traveller before I came out as Viceroy, and had observed the state of its antiquities with pain and regret. Fresh as I then was from my University days, I remember thinking how pertinent to India, and to my countrymen in India, were the words of reproach in which the Roman poet, Horace, had addressed his countrymen in what he thought the decadent and indifferent days of the early Empire; and at the risk of being so unfashionable as to quote a language which is said to be now taboo in public life, I must cite the passage—

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.*

In India it was not so much a case of recovering the favour of the Gods—for our theology is not quite the same as that of the Romans—as it was of expiating the carelessness of the past, and escaping the reproaches of posterity. But the obligation was just as strong and urgent; and this Council, while giving the authority of law by its vote of to-day to the culminating phase, may like to hear something of the manner in which we have interpreted its remaining injunctions.

It seemed to me, when I began to inquire exhaustively into the matter five years ago, that the Government of India had made three mistakes. In the first place, they had not recognised that any obligation lay upon them. They had devolved it entirely upon local Governments, leaving to the latter to spend much or little, or nothing at all, and contenting themselves with paying for an inadequate supervisory staff. Secondly, they had set no standard to which local Governments ought to conform. There was neither co-ordination, nor system, nor control. In one province an enthusiastic administrator might do his duty by

the archaeological treasures temporarily committed to his care. In another there was no idea that archaeology existed as a science, or, if it did, that Government had anything to do with the matter. The third mistake was that conservation, or the task of preserving the memorable relics that we still possess, had been forgotten in the task of research for those that no longer exist, or of writing about objects that were fast falling into decay. Our first step, accordingly, was to revive the post of Director-General, which had been in abeyance since 1889, and to procure a competent person to fill it. The next was to set an example to local Governments, which we undertook to do by the grant of sums aggregating one lakh a year, to supplement the local expenditure of which their own funds might permit. The third step was to stimulate them and the Native States also to renewed efforts by a definite programme of conservation and repair. By the end of 1900 our proposals had gone home to the Secretary of State. A year later his answer was received, and a Director-General, Mr. Marshall, who has since thrown himself with scholarly energy and enthusiasm into his task, was on his way out to India; and in February 1902 we were in a position to publish a Resolution in the Gazette, defining our policy, and foreshadowing the programme of work that lay before us, as well as the legislation which we are carrying to completion to-day. Two years have passed since that date, and the new system is now firmly established, and has already justified itself by its fruits. I can, perhaps, best bring home to this Council the extent to which we have advanced by giving the concrete figures of then and now. In the year 1898-99 the total expenditure of the Government of India upon archaeology was less than £3000, and this was almost exclusively devoted to salaries; the total expenditure of all the local Governments added together was only about £4000 in the same year. A sum, therefore, of £7000 per annum represented the total contribution of the Government of 300 millions of people towards the study or preservation of the most beautiful and valuable collection of ancient monuments in the Eastern world. The Government of India is now spending upon this object $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs per annum, and

the local Governments 3 lakhs per annum, or a total of some £37,000 a year.¹ Thus, not little by little, but by leaps and bounds, are we catching up the errors of the past, and purging our national reputation of this great stain.

It is given to but few to realise, except from books and illustrations, what the archaeological treasures of India are. I know of civilians who have spent a lifetime in the country without ever seeing Agra, and who make a pilgrimage to visit it when their thirty-five years are done. A Governor-General's tours give him a unique chance, and I should have been unworthy of the task which I undertook at the first meeting of the Asiatic Society that I attended in Calcutta five years ago, had I not utilised these opportunities to visit all the great remains or groups of remains with which this country is studded from one end to the other. As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair.

Our labour may be said to have fallen into four main categories. First, there are the buildings which demanded a sustained policy of restoration or conservation, with most diligent attention to the designs of their original architects, so as to restore nothing that had not already existed, and to put up nothing absolutely new. For it is a cardinal principle that new work in restoration must be not only a reproduction of old work, but a part of it, only reintroduced in order to repair or to restore symmetry to the old. Of such a character has been our work at all the great centres of what is commonly known as the Indo-Saracenic style. We have, wherever this was possible, recovered and renovated the dwellings in life and the resting-places in death of those master builders the Musulman emperors and kings.

The Taj itself and all its surroundings are now all but free from the workmen's hands. It is no longer approached through dusty wastes and a squalid bazaar. A beautiful park takes their place; and the group of mosques and tombs, the arcaded streets and grassy courts, that precede the main building, are once more as nearly as possible what

¹ This was increased before Lord Curzon left India.

they were when completed by the masons of Shah Jehan. Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj has been scrupulously repaired, and the discovery of old plans has enabled us to restore the water-channels and flower-beds of the garden more exactly to their original state. We have done the same with the remaining buildings at Agra. The exquisite mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Dowlah, the tile-enamelled gem of Chini-ka-Roza, the succession of Moghul palaces in the Fort, the noble city of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, his noble tomb at Sikandra,¹—all of these have been taken in hand. Slowly they have emerged from decay and in some cases desolation, to their original perfection of form and detail: the old gardens have been restored, the old water-courses cleared out, the old balustrades renovated, the chiselled bas-reliefs repaired, and the inlaid agate, jasper, and cornelian replaced. The skilled workmen of Agra have lent themselves to the enterprise with as much zeal and taste as their forerunners 300 years ago. I have had there the assistance of two large-minded and cultured Lieutenant-Governors in the persons of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir James La Touche. Since I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of reverence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future; and I do not believe that there is a taxpayer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay. It will take some three or four years more to complete the task, and then Agra will be given back to the world, a pearl of great price.

At Delhi and Lahore we have attempted, or are attempting, the same. The Emperor Jehangir no longer lies in a neglected tomb at Shahdera; his grandfather, Humayun, is once again honoured at Delhi. The military authorities have agreed to evacuate all the principal Moghul buildings in the Delhi Fort, and the gardens and halls of the Emperors will soon recall their former selves. I might take you down to Rajputana and show you the restored bund along the Ana

¹ Lord Curzon's last work before he left India was to restore the four mutilated minarets of the great gateway at Sikandra, which had remained without their upper storeys for nearly 150 years, since they were destroyed, according to the popular belief, in the invasion of the Jats of Bhartpore in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Sagar Lake at Ajmer. There a deserted stone embankment survived, but the marble pavilions on it had tumbled down, or been converted into modern residences. Now they stand up again in their peerless simplicity, and are reflected in the waters below. I might bring you much nearer home to Gaur and Pandua in this Province of Bengal, in the restoration of which I received the enthusiastic co-operation of the late Sir John Woodburn. A hundred and twenty years ago the tombs of the Afghan kings at Gaur were within an ace of being despoiled to provide paving-stones for St. John's Church in Calcutta. Only a few years back these wonderful remains were smothered in jungle from which they literally had to be cut free. If the public were fully aware of what has been done, Malda, near to which they are situated, would be an object of constant excursion from this place. We have similarly restored the Hindu temples of Bhubaneshwar near Cuttack, and the palace and temples on the rock-fortress of Rhotasgarh. At the other end of India I might conduct you to the stupendous ruins of the great Hindu capital of Vijayanagar, one of the most astonishing monuments to perished greatness, or to Bijapur, where an equally vanished Mohammedan dynasty left memorials scarcely less enduring. If I had more time to-day, I might ask you to accept my guidance to the delicate marble traceries of the Jain temples on Mount Abu, or the more stately proportions of the mosques at Jaunpur—both of which we are saving from the neglect that was already bringing portions of them to the ground; or I might take you across the Bay of Bengal to Burma, and show you King Mindon's Fort and Palace at Mandalay with their timbered halls and pavilions, which we are carefully preserving as a sample of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese kings.

A second aspect of our work has been the recovery of buildings from profane or sacrilegious uses, and their restitution either to the faith of their founders or at least to safe custody as protected monuments. Here we have a good record. The exquisite little mosque of Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad with the famous windows of pierced sandstone, which I found used as a tehsildar's cutcherry when first I

went there, is once more cleared and intact. The Moti Musjid in the Palace at Lahore, into which I gained entrance with difficulty because the treasury was kept there in chests beneath the floor, and which was surrounded with a brick wall and iron gates, and guarded by sentries, is once more free. The Choti Khwabgah in the Fort is no longer a church; the Dewan-i-Am is no longer a barrack; the lovely tiled Dai Anga Mosque near the Lahore Railway Station has ceased to be the office of a traffic superintendent of the North-Western Railway, and has been restored to the Mohammedan community. At Bijapur I succeeded in expelling a Dâk Bungalow from one mosque, the relics of a British Post Office from another. The mosque in the celebrated fort at Vellore in Madras is no longer tenanted by a police instructor. The superb *mantapam* or Hindu temple in the same fort is now scrupulously cared for. A hundred years ago the East India Company presented it to George IV. when Prince Regent, for erection in the grounds of the Pavilion at Brighton, and only failed to carry out their design because the ship, which had been chartered for the purpose, very happily went to the bottom. Next it was used as an arsenal, and finally commissariat bullocks were tethered to its pillars. At Lucknow I recovered a mosque which had been used for years as a dispensary. At Ajmer I have already mentioned that the marble *baradari* on the bund is no longer the dining-room of the Commissioner's house. At Mandalay the Church and the Club are under notice of removal from the gilded throne rooms of the Burmese sovereigns.

In this policy, which I have so far described in relation to monuments in British territory, I have received the most cordial support from the Indian Princes in their own States. The Nizam of Hyderabad was willing to do all that I asked him—I only wish that it had been a quarter of a century earlier—for the unique caves of Ajunta and Ellora. He undertook the cataloguing and conservation of a most interesting collection of old china, copper ware, and carpets that had been lying neglected for centuries at Aurungabad in the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Aurungzeb. The Maharana of Udaipur has willingly undertaken the restoration

of the exquisite Towers of Fame and Victory on the hill fort of Chitor, one of which could hardly have survived for many more years. The Maharaja Scindia threw himself with characteristic zeal into similar works in his magnificent fortress at Gwalior. The Begum of Bhopal did all that was required at the Sanchi Tope. Finally, there stands in the remote State of Dhar the huge rock-fortress of Mandu, certainly one of the most amazing natural spectacles in the world. Rising to a height of 1500 feet above the Nerbudda plain, it carries upon its summit, which is 30 miles round, a splendid group of deserted Mohammedan fortifications, palaces, and tombs. These we are assisting the State, which is not rich enough to assume the entire responsibility itself, to place in order. They were fast perishing, victims to the ravages of the jungle, and to unchallenged decay.¹

There is yet another aspect of the work of conservation to which I hope that the Bill that we are about to pass will lend a helping hand. This is the custody in collections or museums of rare or interesting objects that have either been torn from their surroundings or whose surroundings have disappeared. Hon. members will be familiar with the larger museums in the capital cities of India, where are collections not without value, but, as a rule, sorely mutilated, often unidentified and uncatalogued, and sometimes abominably arranged. The plan has hitherto been to snatch up any sculptured fragment in a province or presidency, and send it off to the provincial museum. This seemed to me, when I looked into it, to be all wrong. Objects of archæological interest can best be studied in relation and in close proximity to the group and style of buildings to which they belong, presuming that these are of a character and in a locality that will attract visitors. Otherwise if transferred elsewhere, they lose focus, and are apt to become meaningless. Accordingly we have started the plan of a number of local museums in places of the nature that I have described. I may instance Malda in Bengal, Pagan in Burma, the Taj at Agra, Bijapur in Bombay, and Peshawar as localities

¹ The Mandu restorations will shortly be completed. They render it one of the most magnificent groups of archæological remains in the East.

where these institutions are being called into being,¹ and I hope that in future any local fragments that may be discovered in the neighbourhood of such places, instead of being stolen, packed off, or destroyed, will find their way into these minor collections. Of course, the larger provincial museums will continue to attract all classes of objects that do not easily find a local habitation.

These remarks, will, I hope, give to hon. members an idea of the scientific and steadfast policy upon which the Government has embarked in respect of archaeology, and which they are invited to assist by passing this Bill to-day.

By rendering this assistance all will join in paying the debt which each of us owes to the poets, the artists, and the creators of the past. What they originated we can but restore; where they imagined we can but rescue from ruin. But the task, though humble, is worthy, and the duty, though late, is incumbent. A hundred and thirty years ago Samuel Johnson in England used to keep up a correspondence with Warren Hastings in Bengal, and in one of his letters the philosopher thus addressed the Governor-General: "I hope that you will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East, that you will survey the corridors of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities, and that, on your return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men from whom very little has hitherto been derived." It is in this spirit that my archaeological coadjutors and I have worked. All know that there is beauty in India in abundance. I like to think that there is reverence also, and that amid our struggles over the present we can join hands in pious respect for the past. I like to think, too, that this spirit will survive, and that the efforts of which I have been speaking will not slacken in the hands of our successors, until India can boast that her memorials are as tenderly prized as they are precious, and as carefully guarded as they are already, and will in the future be even more, widely known.

¹ Also Delhi, where a museum has been opened in the Naubat-Khana of the Fort.

ART

INDIAN ART EXHIBITION AT DELHI

ONE of the principal features of the Delhi Durbar was the Art Exhibition in the Kudsia Gardens, where a special building had been erected for the accommodation of a large collection of the finest art products of modern India. The Exhibition was opened by the Viceroy on December 30, 1902, with the following speech :—

It is now my pleasant duty to proceed to the first of the functions of the present fortnight, and to declare open the Delhi Art Exhibition. A good many of our visitors would scarcely believe that almost everything that we see before us except the trees is the creation of the last eight months. When I came here in April last to select the site there was not a trace of this great building, of these terraces, and of all the amenities that we now see around. They have all sprung into existence for the sake of this Exhibition, and though the effects of the Exhibition will, I hope, not be so quickly wiped out, the *mise en scène* is, I am sorry to say, destined to disappear.

Perhaps you will expect me to say a few words about the circumstances in which this Exhibition started into being. Ever since I have been in India I have made a careful study of the art industries and handicrafts of this country, once so famous and beautiful, and I have lamented, as many others have done, their progressive deterioration and decline. When it was settled that we were to hold this great gathering at Delhi, at which there would be assembled representatives of every Province and State in India, Indian Princes and Chiefs and nobles, high officials, native gentlemen, and visitors from all parts of the globe, it struck me

that here at last was the long-sought opportunity of doing something to resuscitate these threatened handicrafts, to show to the world of what India is still capable, and, if possible, to arrest the process of decay. I accordingly sent for Dr. Watt,¹ and I appointed him my right hand for the purpose. Far and wide throughout India have he and his assistant, Mr. Percy Brown, proceeded, travelling thousands of miles, everywhere interviewing the artisans, selecting specimens, giving orders, where necessary supplying models, and advancing money to those who needed it. Three conditions I laid down to be observed like the laws of the Medes and Persians.

First, I stipulated that this must be an Art Exhibition, and nothing else. We could easily have given you a wonderful show illustrating the industrial and economic development of India. Dr. Watt has such an exhibition, and a very good one too, at Calcutta.² We could have shown you timbers, and minerals, and raw stuffs, and hides, and manufactured articles to any extent that you pleased. It would all have been very satisfying, but also very ugly. But I did not want that. I did not mean this to be an industrial or economic Exhibition. I meant it to be an Art Exhibition, and that only.

My second condition was that I would not have anything European or quasi-European in it. I declined to admit any of those horrible objects, such as lamps on gorgeous pedestals, coloured-glass lustres, or fantastic statuettes, that find such a surprising vogue among certain classes in this country, but that are bad anywhere in the world, and worst of all in India, which has an art of its own. I laid down that I wanted only the work that represented the ideas, the traditions, the instincts, and the beliefs of the people. It is possible that a few articles that do not answer to my definition may have crept in, because the process of Europeanisation is going on apace in this country, and the number of teapots, cream jugs, napkin rings, salt cellars, and cigarette cases that the Indian artisan is called upon to turn

¹ Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India; now Sir G. Watt.

² This is the collection in the Imperial Museum.

out is appalling. But, generally speaking, my condition has been observed.

Then my third condition was that I would only have the best. I did not want cheap cottons and waxcloths, vulgar lacquer, trinkets and tinsel, brass gods and bowls made to order in Birmingham, or perhaps made in Birmingham itself. What I desired was an exhibition of all that is rare, characteristic, or beautiful in Indian art, our gold and silver ware, our metal work and enamels and jewellery, our carving in wood and ivory and stone, our best pottery and tiles, our carpets of old Oriental patterns, our muslins and silks and embroideries, and the incomparable Indian brocades. All of these you will see inside this building. But please remember it is not a bazaar, but an Exhibition. Our object has been to encourage and revive good work, not to satisfy the requirements of the thinly lined purse.

Such is the general character of the Exhibition. But we have added to it something much more important. Conscious that taste is declining, and that many of our modern models are debased and bad, we have endeavoured to set up alongside the products of the present the standards and samples of the past. This is the meaning of the Loan Collection, which has a hall to itself, in which you will see many beautiful specimens of old Indian art ware, lent to us by the generosity of Indian Chiefs and connoisseurs, some of it coming from our own Indian Museums, and some from the unrivalled collection in the South Kensington Museum in London. Many of these objects are beautiful in themselves; but we hope that the Indian workmen who are here, and also the patrons who employ them, will study them not merely as objects of antiquarian or even artistic interest, but as supplying them with fresh or rather resuscitated ideas which may be useful to them in inspiring their own work in the future. For this may be laid down as a truism, that Indian art will never be revived by borrowing foreign ideals, but only by fidelity to its own.

And now I may be asked, What is the object of this Exhibition, and what good do I expect to result from it? I will answer in a very few words. In so far as the decline of the Indian arts represents the ascendancy of commer-

cialism, the superiority of steam power to hand power, the triumph of the test of utility over that of taste, then I have not much hope. We are witnessing in India only one aspect of a process that is going on throughout the world, that has long ago extinguished the old manual industries of England, and that is rapidly extinguishing those of China and Japan. Nothing can stop it. The power loom will drive out the hand loom, and the factory will get the better of the workshop, just as surely as the steam car is superseding the horse carriage, and as the hand-pulled punkah is being replaced by the electric fan. All that is inevitable, and in an age which wants things cheap and does not mind their being ugly, which cares a good deal for comfort and not much for beauty, and which is never happy unless it is deserting its own models and traditions, and running about in quest of something foreign and strange, we may be certain that a great many of the old arts and handicrafts are doomed.

There is another symptom that to my mind is even more ominous. I am one of those, as I have said, who believe that no national art is capable of continued existence unless it satisfies the ideals, and expresses the wants, of the nation that has produced it. No art can be kept alive by globe-trotters or curio-hunters alone. If it has got to that point, it becomes a mere mechanical reproduction of certain fashionable patterns ; and when fashion changes, and they cease to be popular, it dies. If Indian art, therefore, is to continue to flourish, or is to be revived, it can only be if the Indian Chiefs and aristocracy, and people of culture and high degree, undertake to patronise it. So long as they prefer to fill their palaces with flaming Brussels carpets, with Tottenham Court Road furniture,¹ with cheap Italian mosaics, with French oleographs, with Austrian lustres, and with German tissues and cheap brocades, I fear there is not much hope. I speak in no terms of reproach, because I think that in England we are just as bad in our pursuit of anything

¹ This passage produced an indignant protest from Messrs. Maple and Co., of Tottenham Court Road, who retorted that they had provided furniture for Vice-regal Lodge at Simla ! It did not occur to them that what may be suitable in an English mansion occupied by an English family in India may be singularly out of place in an Oriental palace inhabited by Orientals living in the Oriental style.

that takes our fancy in foreign lands. But I do say that if Indian arts and handicrafts are to be kept alive, it can never be by outside patronage alone. It can only be because they find a market within the country and express the ideas and culture of its people. I should like to see a movement spring up among the Indian Chiefs and nobility for the expurgation, or at any rate the purification, of modern tastes, and for a reversion to the old-fashioned but exquisite styles and patterns of their own country. Some day I have not a doubt that it will come. But it may then be too late.

If these are the omens, what then is the aim of this Exhibition, and what purpose do I think that it will serve? I can answer in a word. The Exhibition is intended as an object lesson. It is meant to show what India can still imagine, and create, and do. It is meant to show that the artistic sense is not dead among its workmen, but that all they want is a little stimulus and encouragement. It is meant to show that for the beautification of an Indian house or the furniture of an Indian home there is no need to rush to the European shops at Calcutta or Bombay, but that in almost every Indian State and Province, in most Indian towns, and in many Indian villages, there still survives the art and there still exist the artificers who can satisfy the artistic as well as the utilitarian tastes of their countrymen, and who are competent to keep alive this precious inheritance that we have received from the past. It is with this object that Dr. Watt and I have laboured in creating this Exhibition; and in now declaring it open, it only remains for me to express the earnest hope that it may in some measure fulfil the strictly patriotic purpose for which it has been designed.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 25, 1903

Hon. members may like to hear something of the results of the Art Exhibition which we held at Delhi, and which was designed exclusively in the interests of the indigenous arts and industries of this country. What effect the

Exhibition will have upon the future of Indian art it is of course impossible as yet to determine. But that it had a wonderful success in calling the attention of the outside public, foreign as well as native, to the still vital capacities of Indian art, is, I think, certain. Though the Exhibition was open but a short time, no fewer than 48,000 persons paid for admission, the cash sales amounted to over 3 lakhs of rupees, and the total receipts to more than 4 lakhs. The building cost something more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs ; and, apart from that, the net cost of the Exhibition was only $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh. I think, therefore, that we may fairly claim, for a very moderate outlay, to have given an impetus to Indian art, which ought not to fade away, while the presence in so many museums and private collections of the beautiful objects that were purchased from the Exhibition ought to act as a timely advertisement to the still unexhausted skill of our craftsmen and artisans.

BURMA

DURBAR AT MANDALAY

ON November 28, 1901, the Viceroy held a Durbar in the West Throne-room of the Palace of Mandalay for the reception of the thirty chiefs of the Southern Shan States, who had come into Mandalay for the purpose, and of the chief notables and other native gentlemen of Burma. He addressed the Durbar as follows:—

My first and most pleasing duty at this Durbar has already been discharged. It has consisted in the presentation of titles and awards of merit to certain of the chiefs of the Southern Shan States, and to a number of Burman gentlemen and officers of police, for services rendered in their several callings. The distribution of honours is one of the most delicate of the duties that devolve upon the head of the Government of India. But laborious and often invidious as is the task of selecting the few who are most deserving among the many who are deserving, I can say for myself that the reward of merit, more particularly if it be unselfish and unostentatious merit, is one of the most agreeable prerogatives that attach to high administrative office. It gives me the most genuine satisfaction to pick out some worthy recipient for the recognition of Government or the favour of the Crown, especially if he has laboured in comparative remoteness or obscurity; and my pleasure is certainly enhanced when, in these or other cases, I am permitted, as I have been to-day, to be the vehicle of presentation myself.

The whole of the chiefs of the Southern Shan States, from as far east as Keng Tung, and as far south as Karen, have passed before me this afternoon, in addition to those

who have received special marks of distinction. The area which they inhabit, amounting to over 40,000 square miles, with a population of 800,000 persons, is one of the undeveloped assets of the future. Its people are keen traders, the soil is fertile and capable of producing many sorts of grain, valuable minerals lie hidden beneath the surface. In fifteen years it has passed, under the able management of Mr. Hildebrand—who, I am sorry to say, is leaving you before long—from a state of chronic rapine and disorder to tranquillity and contentment. In this work he has been assisted by the enlightened attitude of many of the chiefs, who, instead of spending their time in raiding each other's states and killing each other's people, as their forefathers would have done, now compete with each other in carrying out works of public utility and in opening up their country by means of roads. A school is also about to be opened at Taunggyi for the special education of the sons and relatives of the chiefs, and, if they are wise in their generation, as I take them to be, they will not fail to profit by the advantages which it will confer. One day in the future you will get railway connection with the main Burma lines; the Southern Shan States will become a great exporting area; and some later Viceroy will come and see you in your homes, and congratulate you on your prosperous and remunerative partnership in the Indian Empire.

I now turn to the main body of those whom I am addressing, and who represent the inhabitants of Upper Burma in general. This province cannot fail to present special attractions to any Viceroy of India, so recent is its acquisition, so remarkable what has already been accomplished, so promising its future. It is especially interesting to one who has made the frontiers of Empire his peculiar study, and who knows no spectacle more absorbing than that of Oriental peoples passing by a steady progress from backwardness to civilisation, without at the same time forfeiting the religious creed, the traditions, or the national characteristics of their race. Here in Upper Burma both extremes of this process may be observed; for, on the one hand, in the settled tracts are an intelligent and tractable race, immersed in agriculture or business, and living under the sway of one

of the oldest and most cultured of religions ; on the other hand, one has only to proceed to the north-eastern border to encounter tribes who still derive pleasure from cutting off each other's heads. I doubt if the north-western frontier of India, which I know well, presents features more diversified than yours on the north-east. The frontiers of Upper Burma touch those of China and Assam ; they bring the territories of Great Britain into contiguity with the Asiatic dominions of France ; they extend to the boundaries of Manipur and Assam ; and they shade away on the north into unvisited tracts peopled by unknown and semi-savage tribes. Here is a situation and a task that will occupy the genius of the British race for many a long day to come. A hundred years hence Upper Burma, with its immense resources developed, its waterways utilised, its communications improved, its population many times multiplied, and peace reigning from the Hukong Valley to the Gulf of Martaban, and from the Lushai Hills to Yunnan, will be as much unlike its present condition as the Bengal of to-day is unlike the Bengal of Warren Hastings. Your population in the Upper Province, excluding the Shan States, is less than four millions. With a temperate climate, a fertile soil, cheap and abundant food, and practical immunity from famine, I see no reason why it should not one day be fourteen millions. I wish that I could live to see it. But as that is impossible, I rejoice to think of what remains for those who come after me to do, and that not for many generations will India fail within its borders to provide my countrymen with the work for which their instincts seem especially to fit them among the nations of the earth.

In Upper Burma the stages of your evolution have been relatively rapid. In the sixteen years that have elapsed since annexation I detect four distinct landmarks of advance. First came the era of conquest, which was shortly and swiftly achieved. Next came the period of disorder and guerilla warfare, following upon conquest, in which, upon a larger scale and on a much wider stage, our troops are now engaged in South Africa, and which here also was not without its vicissitudes and its trials. Next came the task of internal reconstruction in the newly acquired territories, of instituting a proper system of land

records and land assessments, of providing for the due administration of civil and criminal justice, of organising an efficient police, of encouraging the marked aptitudes of the people for education, of making roads, bridges, and railways, of extending the post and the telegraph, of building hospitals and dispensaries, of diffusing the benefits of vaccination and sanitation, of developing agriculture and spreading irrigation, of pacifying the hill tracts and tranquillising the tribes. Finally, and simultaneously with the third, comes the fourth stage of development, in which the lack of wealth in the country requires to be supplemented from the outside, enabling your wonderful resources in timber, in oil, and in gems to be exploited by organised enterprise and capital. Practically the whole of these stages in your recent history have been supervised by your present Lieutenant-Governor. I cannot conceive a prouder reflection with which an Indian administrator can leave these shores, as in the course of next year Sir F. Fryer will be called upon to do, than that he has nursed so sturdy a child of Empire from childhood to adolescence. He has been in the position of a sculptor who is given the choicest block of marble, and is bidden to shape it to whatever in the art of statuary his own imagination or the capacity of the material may suggest.

Statistics are always considered to be rather a repellent study; but they sometimes illustrate, in a concrete form and with tell-tale directness, an argument or a proposition; and they are, after all, the quarry from which the historian of the future must hew. If any one, therefore, here present desires to be convinced that I have not been dealing in unsupported generalisations, I may inform him that since annexation the revenue of Upper Burma has increased from 56 lakhs to 141½ lakhs, and that the population during the last decade has increased by nearly 500,000 or between 14 and 15 per cent. If he is disposed to identify the progress of a country with the opening of communications, he will like to know that, whereas Upper Burma had not a single mile of railway in 1886, it now possesses 850 miles; and that over 3000 miles of road are now open in the province, of which 700 are the work of the past five years. If he

is an apostle of irrigation, he will be gratified at the impending opening of the Mandalay Canal, executed at a cost of nearly 50 lakhs, and destined to irrigate 100,000 acres. If he is not satisfied with this, he may be pleased to learn that the Shwebo Canal, which will cost about the same amount, has already been begun, and that the Mon Canals on a similar scale will follow—these three works when completed costing little short of one million sterling. If my friend to whom I am referring is a champion of law and order, he may take pride in the fact that so well-behaved is the Upper Province that in 1900 there were only 145 cases of violent crime, as compared with more than three times the number in Lower Burma. Finally, if he is a Burman patriot, I would invite him to facilitate the efforts which are being made by the British Government to employ the Burmans in the administration of their country, by inducing them to take every advantage of the educational facilities which are every day being offered to them in a greater degree.

I have only one further reflection to add ; and I address it to those persons in this audience, and through them to the wider outside public, who belong to the Burman race. Because the British have come to this country and have introduced the reforms of which I have been speaking, we do not, therefore, wish that the people should lose the characteristics and traditions, in so far as they are good, of their own race. It is a difficult thing, as I have often said elsewhere, to fuse the East and West ; but no fusion can be effected by suppression of national habits and traits. The Burmans were celebrated in former times for their sense of respect—respect for parents, respect for elders, respect for teachers, respect for those in authority. No society can exist in a healthy state without reverence. It is the becoming tribute paid by the inferior to the superior, whether his superiority be in position, in rank, or in age, and it is the foundation-stone of civic duty. I should think the advantages of the education which we give you dearly paid for if they were accompanied by any weakening in these essential ties. Again, if civilisation were found to encourage a taste for such pursuits as betting and

gambling, or in any way to depreciate the standards of commercial honour, I should think that it had not succeeded in its aim.

There is another respect in which I beg of you not to be diverted from your old practices. You have, as I have said, a venerable and a famous religion whose relics are scattered throughout the East and whose temples are among the beauties of the Oriental world. But it is of no use to build pagodas unless you maintain them, and a powerful and popular religion is not well represented by crumbling and dilapidated shrines. Similar thoughts are suggested by your art and your architecture, once so fanciful, so ingenious, and so picturesque, but now in grave danger of being undermined. The main reason for which I ordered the preservation and restoration of the building in a part of which I am now speaking, is that a model of the ceremonial architecture of this country might survive ; for I felt certain that if it disappeared, as before long it would otherwise tend to do, its place would never be taken by anything similar in design or structure, but, if at all, by something new, and in all probability hideous. If, however, your art and your architecture, your delicate wood carving, your silver work and lacquer work and painting, are to survive, they cannot be fostered by external patronage alone : they must rest upon the unprostituted tastes and traditions of the nation, and upon the continued support of your own selves. My concluding words, therefore, to the Burmans to-day are these—keep that which is best in your religious faith, in your national character and traditions, and in the pursuits and accomplishments of your race. The most loyal subject of the King-Emperor in Burma, the Burman whom I would most like to honour, is not the cleverest mimic of a European, but the man who is truest to all that is most simple, most dutiful, and of best repute in the instincts and the customs of an ancient and attractive people.

CHIEFS AND PRINCES OF INDIA

STATE BANQUET AT GWALIOR

ON November 29, 1899, Lord Curzon delivered the following speech at the State Banquet on the occasion of his first visit to the Maharaja Scindia at Gwalior. It was the first of the speeches in which the Viceroy outlined his policy towards the Native States, and it has frequently been quoted in consequence.

In rising to thank His Highness for the agreeable manner in which he has proposed the health of Lady Curzon and myself, I feel that I am enjoying one of the happiest experiences of an Indian Viceroy in coming for the first time as a guest to the Ruler and the State of Gwalior. There is in this place such a pleasing and uncommon blend of old-world interest with the liveliest spirit of modern progress, that one hardly knows whether the imaginative or the practical side of nature is more thrilled by all that one sees and hears. The official visits of Viceroys to Native States are sometimes deprecated on the score of the ceremonial, and perhaps costly formalities, which they involve, and of their time-honoured attributes of pomp and display. I am not inclined to share these views. To me personally there is no more interesting part of my Indian work than the opportunities which are presented to me, on tour or elsewhere, of an introduction to the acquaintance, and, as I fondly hope, to the confidence, of the native Princes and Chiefs of India; and if these Princes prefer, as I believe they do prefer, to receive the representative of the sovereign whom they all acknowledge, and for whom they entertain a profound and chivalrous devotion, with a dignity becoming both to his position and to their

own rank, I think that he would be a captious and sour-minded critic who were to deny them an opportunity which I believe to be as highly appreciated by their subjects as it is valued by themselves.

The spectacle and the problem of the Native States of India are indeed a subject that never loses its fascination for my mind. Side by side with our own system, and sometimes almost surrounded by British territory, there are found in this wonderful country the possessions, the administration, the proud authority, and the unchallenged traditions of the native dynasties¹—a combination which, both in the picturesque variety of its contrast, and still more in the smooth harmony of its operation, is, I believe, without parallel in the history of the world. The British Government, alone of Governments, has succeeded in the wise policy of building up the security and safeguarding the rights of its feudatory principalities; and to this are due the stability of their organisation, and the loyalty of their rulers. I rejoice wherever I go to scrutinise the practical outcome of this policy, to observe the States consolidated, the chiefs powerful, and their privileges unimpaired.

But I also do not hesitate to say, wherever I go, that a return is owing for these advantages, and that security cannot be repaid by licence, or the guarantee of rights by the unchartered exercise of wrong. The native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis à vis* of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and *vis à vis* of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; and that his *gadi*

¹ There are in all some 600 Native States in India, but the vast majority of these are insignificant in size and status, and only about 100 are of importance.

is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the racecourse, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations ; but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I, at any rate, judge him. By this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive.

It is with the greater freedom that I venture upon these remarks on the present occasion because I do not know anywhere of a Prince who better exemplifies their application, or who shows a more consistent tendency to act up to the ideal which I have sketched, than the young Maharaja whose splendid hospitality we are enjoying this evening. Before I arrived in India I had heard of his public spirit, his high sense of duty, his devotion to the interests of his country. During my first few days in Calcutta I had, as he has mentioned, the pleasure of making his acquaintance ; and now in his own State the opportunity is presented to me of improving it, which I very highly prize, and of seeing at first hand the excellent work which he is doing in almost every branch of administration.

The Maharaja appears to me, from all I have heard, to have realised that the secret of successful government is personality. If he expects his officials to follow an example, he himself must set it. If he desires to conquer torpor or apathy, he must exhibit enthusiasm. Everywhere he must be to his people the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of dispassionate zeal. There is no position to which a Prince who fulfils this conception may not aspire in the affections of his countrymen, and there is scarcely any limit to his capacity of useful service to the State.

[The remainder of the speech which was of personal and local interest, is omitted.]

STATE BANQUET AT JAIPUR

In the course of his official tour through Rajputana the Viceroy visited Jaipur, and was entertained at a State Banquet by the Maharaja on November 28, 1902. In proposing the Viceroy's health the Maharaja made a speech of so much importance with regard to Lord Curzon's policy towards the Native States, and the feelings of the Indian Princes, that, as a special exception, it is printed here in full :—

“ Since my accession to the *gadi* in September 1880, I have had the good fortune to receive and entertain many Viceroys, who have honoured me and my State by their visits ; but I am especially delighted to welcome Your Excellency and Her Excellency Lady Curzon to my capital, as for the last four years I have been privileged to enjoy frequent interviews which have been accorded to me by Your Excellency in spite of your heavy work and engagements.

“ It is just three years to a day since Your Excellency made a memorable speech at Gwalior, in which you claimed us Chiefs as your colleagues and partners in the work of administration. This I felt to be a very high compliment to all Chiefs who work hard to keep their States prosperous and their people happy.

“ With the permission of Your Excellency, I would beg to say that I have a great partiality for the old customs and the religious traditions of my country, on which are based the very foundations of the Hindu religion. I always prefer to tread in the footsteps of my forefathers ; and this I think tends to bind me more and more closely to my people and country. At the same time, my Rajput instincts and religious teaching have always inspired me with unfeigned loyalty to the Paramount Power. My leanings to the old institutions of my country have led people to consider me old-fashioned, and as I grow older and see the changes around me, even in Rajputana, the land of India's ancient glory, I sometimes feel sad and despondent, and feel like a man living in a thatched shed when his neighbours' sheds have caught fire. But the reading of Your Excellency's speech quite cheered me, and I know it must have cheered my brother chiefs too, to realise that Your Excellency looked on us as something more than interesting historical institutions. It showed us that we had our place in this great Indian land, and that we should be encouraged and helped to keep our place in spite of our conservative tendencies. I cannot sufficiently thank you for this and other wise and true things which Your Excellency has told us about being loyal to our religion, traditions, and people. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a

few words from Your Excellency's speech at Rajkot to the assembled chiefs and pupils of the Rajkumar College in November 1900. Your Excellency said, 'While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles or Indian princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption.' I am thoroughly in accord with these wise remarks, and I think it would be well if they were taken to heart by all the nobles and princes of India. Though I do not know English, I have had all Your Excellency's speeches translated to me, and have derived from them both encouragement and strength.

"I cannot omit mentioning that I have recently received further encouragement by my visit to England, where I went as a Hindu and Rajput Chief determined to observe all my own customs and ways, even in a foreign country. It was a keen pleasure to me to observe that the good and kind people of England liked me none the worse for clinging closely to the ways of my fathers.

"Your Excellency's words, and still more Your Excellency's deeds, in founding the Cadet Corps and in improving the education given at the Mayo College and other similar institutions in India, and your many acts of kindness and consideration towards us, prove that Your Excellency is one of the best friends of the Ruling Chiefs of India, and I can only say, and say it from my heart, that I would do anything to deserve such a friendship.

"I cannot close my speech without referring to the great ceremony that is going to take place at Delhi a few weeks hence. I had the honour of witnessing the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII., Emperor of India, and of Her Majesty Queen Alexandra. The solemn and imposing ceremony made the deepest impression on my mind, and, I can safely say, on the minds of all my brother chiefs who were present there. The great gathering at Delhi will celebrate the same occasion, and I feel it would be a great mistake were so important an event to be ignored or only superficially honoured in my own dear country. Moreover, the ceremonies now contemplated at Delhi are entirely in accordance with Hindu ideas both from the State and religious standpoints. Our own ancient books contain many graphic and interesting accounts of the pomp and pageantry attending upon the coronation of the kings of those days.

"Since the British rule became paramount in India no such opportunity as the present has ever occurred, and it is our duty as well as our pleasure to participate in the ceremonies proposed, which should be devised on a scale befitting so great an occasion. In this way alone can our King-Emperor understand the deep and real feeling of loyalty which inspires the chiefs of India and their peoples. Few study ceremonials more carefully than myself, and I

say, after a close consideration of the programme which has been ordained for the Coronation Durbar at Delhi, that in view of the unique nature of the occasion—the crowning of a King-Emperor,—of the vastness of the gathering, and of the many changes wrought by railways and other agencies, no more sensible and considerate programme could have been devised. It is for a special occasion, and it in no wise detracts from our privileges and honours. We are all looking forward to meeting Your Excellency there as the representative of the Sovereign to whom we unite in loyalty and devotion. In my view, the princes of India will derive great benefit from taking part in such a ceremony."

The Viceroy replied as follows:—

It seems to me a not unbecoming thing that the last visit that I should pay upon this tour in Rajputana should be to this celebrated State, that the last of the Rajput Chiefs by whom I should have the honour of being entertained should be one so imbued with the highest traditions and aspirations of his race as the Maharaja of Jaipur, and that the concluding speech of my tour should be delivered in reply to remarks of so striking a character and so notable an importance as those to which we have just listened. At the end of my fourth year of office I now have the pleasure of knowing the large majority of the Princes and Chiefs of India; and I rejoice to learn from the lips of one so well qualified to speak on their behalf that they recognise in me a devoted well-wisher and friend. I do not merely say this as the representative of the Sovereign to whom their loyalty is so warm, and whom they vie with each other in honouring in the person of his deputy. I speak as the head of the Indian Administration, and as the champion of the interests of India itself—in which the welfare and security of its chiefs are wrapped up and involved.

Your Highness has reminded me that three years ago I claimed the Indian Chiefs as my colleagues and partners in the task of Indian administration.¹ It is as such, as fellow-workers in their several exalted stations, that I have ever since continued to treat and to regard them. On many occasions I have discussed with them the conditions and circumstances of their own government, and on others, as Your Highness knows full well, I have sought and obtained

¹ *Vide* p. 217.

their co-operation and advice. I have often recapitulated the benefits which in my view the continued existence of the Native States confers upon Indian society. Amid the levelling tendencies of the age and the inevitable monotony of government conducted upon scientific lines, they keep alive the traditions and customs, they sustain the virility, and they save from extinction the picturesqueness of ancient and noble races. They have that indefinable quality, endearing them to the people, that arises from their being born of the soil. They provide scope for the activities of the hereditary aristocracy of the country, and employment for native intellect and ambition. Above all, I realise, more perhaps in Rajputana than anywhere else, that they constitute a school of manners, valuable to the Indian, and not less valuable to the European, showing in the person of their chiefs that illustrious lineage has not ceased to implant noble and chivalrous ideas, and maintaining those old-fashioned and punctilious standards of public spirit and private courtesy which have always been instinctive in the Indian aristocracy, and with the loss of which, if ever they be allowed to disappear, Indian society will go to pieces like a dismasted vessel in a storm.

It sometimes seems to be thought, because the British Government exercises political control over these States—which is the reverse side of the security that we guarantee to them,—that we desire of a deliberate purpose to Anglicise the Feudatory States in India. That is no part of my idea, and it has most certainly been no feature of my practice. We want their administration to be conducted upon business principles and with economy. We want public works to be developed and the education and welfare of the poorer classes considered. We want to diminish the openings for money-grabbing, corruption, or oppression. We want a Native State, when famine comes, to treat it both with method and with generosity. In so far as these standards have been developed by British rule in this country, may they be called English. But if any one thinks that we want to overrun Native States with Englishmen, or to stamp out the idiosyncrasies of native thought and custom, then he is strangely mistaken. Englishmen are often required to start

some public undertaking or to introduce some essential reform. In industrial and mineral development, and in scientific work in general, outside enterprise is in many cases absolutely indispensable, since the resources of the State might otherwise remain unutilised and unexplored. What good work is capable of being done by an Englishman in a Native State may be illustrated by the career of an officer present at this table to-night, whom I had the pleasure of recommending recently for the title that he now bears, namely, Sir Swinton Jacob. Such work—modest, unobtrusive, characterised by fidelity to the highest traditions of the British public service, and yet also by perfect loyalty to the State—is a model that may anywhere be held up for example. But we cannot always be sure of a succession of Sir Swinton Jacobs ; and accordingly, whenever I lend a British officer administratively to a Native State, one of his main functions in my view should be to train up natives of the State to succeed him ; for there is no spectacle which finds less favour in my eyes, or which I have done more to discourage, than that of a cluster of Europeans settling down upon a Native State and sucking from it the moisture which ought to give sustenance to its own people.

Similarly, if a Native State is ruled well in its own way, I would not insist that it should be ruled a little better in the English way. A natural organism that has grown by slow degrees to an advanced stage of development has probably a healthier flow of life blood in its veins than one which is of artificial growth or foreign importation. Therefore it gives me pleasure to visit a part of India where these old fashions still survive as in Rajputana, and still more to be the guest of a Chief like Your Highness, whose State is ruled efficiently and well, but ruled upon native lines. The British in this country have already rendered a great service to Rajputana in the past ; for it was by their intervention in the first twenty years of the last century that the Rajput principalities were saved from ruin just when they were in danger of being overwhelmed by the mercenary hordes of the Mahrattas and the Pathans. But for the action of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings and for the treaties that they made, Rajputana, as a distinct political unit, would have

been wiped out of existence. For that service the Rajput Chiefs have always been profoundly grateful, and they have repaid it by unswerving loyalty to the British Crown. But it would be a thousand pities if, having thus saved Rajputana from the break up of war and rapine, we were now to see this aristocratic structure and these ancient institutions go to pieces under the scarcely less disintegrating influences of prosperity and peace. I would fain hope that this ancient society, which was never absorbed by the Moghul, and which has stood the strain of centuries of conflict and siege, may learn so to adapt itself to the conditions of the age as to find in the British sovereignty the sure guarantee of its liberties and traditions, as well as a trustworthy guide on the pathway of administrative progress and reform.

Your Highness knows also that I have made no concealment of what are my views as to the character and duty of native Chiefs. Those views have not always been popular, and I have often seen them misrepresented or misunderstood. My ideal has never been the butterfly that flits aimlessly from flower to flower, but the working bee that builds its own hive and makes its own honey. To such a man all my heart goes out in sympathy and admiration. He is dear to his own people, and dear to the Government whom I represent. Sometimes I cast my eyes into the future; and I picture a state of society in which the Indian Princes, trained to all the advantages of Western culture, but yet not divorced in instinct or in mode of life from their own people, will fill an even ampler part than at present in the administration of this Empire. I would dearly like to see that day. But it will not come if an Indian Chief is at liberty to be a spendthrift or an idler or an absentee. It can only come if, as Your Highness has said, he remains true to his religion, his traditions, and his people.

Your Highness, if I may say so, has set a noble example of what such a ruler may be and do. We know your princely munificence in respect of the Famine Trust and many other good works; and we are aware of your single-hearted devotion to the interests of your State. When I persuaded Your Highness to go to England as the chosen representative of Rajputana at the Coronation of the King, you felt some

hesitation as to the sharp separation from your home and from the duties and practices of your previous life. But you have returned fortified with the conviction that dignity and simplicity of character, and uprightness and magnanimity of conduct, are esteemed by the nobility and people in England not less than they are here. I hope that Your Highness's example may be followed by those who come after you, and that it may leave an enduring mark in Indian history.

In the concluding observations of your speech, Your Highness alluded to the forthcoming Durbar at Delhi to celebrate the Coronation of His Majesty the King ; and I was beyond measure gratified when I heard you say, on behalf of the princely class whom you represent, that after a close consideration of the proposals that have been made for the participation of the Indian Chiefs, you entirely approve of their nature. I can scarcely describe to Your Highness the anxious labour that I have devoted to these arrangements. My one desire, as Your Highness knows, since I have explained it by circular letter to all the Chiefs, has been that the Indian Princes, instead of being mere spectators of the ceremony, as they were in 1877, should be actors in it. It is their King-Emperor, as well as mine and ours, whose Coronation is being celebrated ; and it seemed to me entirely wrong that the Chiefs should sit or stand outside, as though it were a function that only affected the Viceroy or the British officials in this country, but had no concern for them. The Durbar is not the Viceroy's Durbar. It is held for the Sovereign, and the Sovereign alone ; and it is to mark the feelings that are entertained towards him by all the Princes of India without exception that I have invited their personal participation in these great and imposing events. So far should I be from seeking to detract from the honour of the Chiefs that my one preoccupation has been to add to it. I am glad that Your Highness has so thoroughly understood and so generously appreciated my desires ; and I have every reason to hope that a successful realisation will lie before them.

INSTALLATION OF NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR

On November 12, 1903, the Viceroy visited Bahawalpur in order to invest His Highness Nawab Muhammad Bahawal Khan Bahadur with full powers of administration as Ruling Chief of the State. The ceremony took place in the Durbar Hall of the Palace, and the Viceroy spoke as follows :—

I have come to Bahawalpur in order to instal the young Nawab upon the *musnud* of his State. This is the leading Mohammedan principality in the north of India, and I felt that I should like to offer to the State and to its ruler the same marks of official and personal interest as I have done to Hindu States and to Hindu Princes in other parts of the country. The occasion is official, for it is as representative of the Sovereign that I am about to invest the young chief with full powers of administration ; but it is personal also, for I desire to testify to the Nawab and to his people my keen interest in his welfare and my hopes for his future.

When the British Crown, through the Viceroy, and the Indian Princes, in the person of one of their number, are brought together on an occasion of so much importance as an installation ceremony, it is not unnatural that we should reflect for a moment on the nature of the ties that are responsible for this association. They are peculiar and significant ; and, so far as I know, they have no parallel in any other country in the world. The political system of India is neither Feudalism nor Federation ; it is embodied in no Constitution ; it does not always rest upon Treaty ; and it bears no resemblance to a League. It represents a series of relationships that have grown up between the Crown and the Indian Princes under widely differing historical conditions, but which in process of time have gradually conformed to a single type. The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative. Conversely the duties and the service of the States are implicitly recognised, and as a rule faithfully discharged. It is this happy blend of authority with free-will, of sentiment with self-interest, of

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duties with rights, that distinguishes the Indian Empire under the British Crown from any other dominion of which we read in history. The links that hold it together are not iron fetters that have been forged for the weak by the strong ; neither are they artificial couplings that will snap asunder the moment that any unusual strain is placed upon them ; but they are silken strands that have been woven into a strong cable by the mutual instincts of pride and duty, of self-sacrifice and esteem.

It is scarcely possible to imagine circumstances more different than those of the Indian Chiefs now from what they were at the time when Queen Victoria came to the throne. Then they were suspicious of each other, mistrustful of the Paramount Power, distracted with personal intrigues and jealousies, indifferent or selfish in their administration, and unconscious of any wider duty or Imperial aim. Now their sympathies have expanded with their knowledge, and their sense of responsibility with the degree of confidence reposed in them. They recognise their obligations to their own States, and their duty to the Imperial throne. The British Crown is no longer an impersonal abstraction, but a concrete and inspiring force. They have become figures on a great stage instead of actors in petty parts.

In my view, as this process has gone on, the Princes have gained in prestige instead of losing it. Their rank is not diminished, but their privileges have become more secure. They have to do more for the protection that they enjoy, but they also derive more from it ; for they are no longer detached appendages of Empire, but its participators and instruments. They have ceased to be the architectural adornments of the Imperial edifice, and have become the pillars that help to sustain the main roof.

Such is the character of the office to which this young Chief succeeds, and in whose privileges and responsibilities I am about to induct him. I do not know of any fairer prospect than that which opens up before such a man. He starts with the support of Government, with the affection of his people, and with the good-will of all. In the present case the Nawab has material advantages as well. His State is solvent ; there are reserve balances in the Treasury of

more than two years' total revenue ; he himself has profited by education at one of the Chiefs' Colleges, where he distinguished himself, and he has since shown that he possesses unusual aptitudes for administration. He seems to me to be beginning his public career under an auspicious star.

I do not say that no difficulties attend the path of the young Chief. On the contrary, I think that they are many and perplexing. There is the difficulty of reconciling fidelity to the traditions of an Oriental people with the principles that are imbibed from Western civilisation. There is the difficulty of placing restraint upon his impulses or passions as a man where these conflict with his duties as a ruler. There is the difficulty, but the necessity, of maintaining a clear line between public and private expenditure, and of remembering that the resources of the State belong to the people, and not to the Chief, and if contributed by them in one form, ought for the most part to be given back in another. There is the difficulty of hitting the mean between attempting too much and doing too little. But all of these are difficulties which only exist to be surmounted, and by which a man of level judgment and self-control need never be appalled.

Your Highness, I am now about to invest you with full powers of administration in your State. This is a turning-point in your life, from which will date the reputation for good or the reverse that will one day attach to your name. I believe and hope myself that it will be the former and not the latter, and that you mean to be, as you have a capacity for being, one of the rulers whose names are uttered with gratitude and remembered with respect. There are five duties that I enjoin upon you as you take up the task. Be loyal to your Sovereign, who is the ultimate source and guarantee of your powers. Regard the Government of India and the local Government under which you are immediately placed as your protectors and sponsors. Treat the political officer with whom you are brought into contact, not as your tutor or mentor, but as a counsellor and friend. Be just and considerate to the nobles of your State ; you owe a duty to them just as much as they to you. And

lastly, never let a day pass without thinking of your people, and praying to Almighty God that you, who have so much, may do something for them who have so little. If these are the principles by which you regulate your conduct, your subjects and your friends will look back upon this day not as a *tamasha* that is forgotten as soon as it is over, but as the dawn of a bright and prosperous era for the State of Bahawalpur.

INSTALLATION OF MAHARAJA OF ULWAR

The Viceroy visited Ulwar on December 10, 1903, for the purpose of installing on the *gadi* the young Maharaja Jai Singh, who had just attained the age of 21. The ceremony took place in the Durbar Hall of the Palace, where the Viceroy made the following speech:—

His Highness the Maharaja, whom I have come here to instal to-day, is the third Indian Prince whom it has been my privilege to invest with full powers during my time.¹ I regard this, and I hope and am sure that the Maharaja regards it, as no idle pageant or occasion for the mere exchange of complimentary words. On the contrary, there seems to me to be great solemnity in the moment when a young Chief takes over the rule of his country and his people; and I consider it a most right and befitting thing that the representative of the monarch whom he acknowledges, and who is the final sanction of his powers, should attend to perform the ceremony in person, and thus demonstrate the personal interest of the Sovereign in the Princes who surround and support his throne. I am told that it is many a long year since any Rajput Prince was invested by a Governor-General of India, and that there is no Ruling Chief now living in this part of India who was thus installed. What may have been the reason for this I do not know. But whether I am creating a new precedent, or merely reviving an old one, I at least feel sure of one thing, namely, that the reciprocal relations of the British Crown and the Indian Princes can lose nothing, and may gain

¹ The others were the Maharaja of Mysore and the Nawab of Bahawalpur.

a good deal, by their association at a moment of such importance in the life of the young ruler. For each of the two parties is naturally brought to consider his own position and his relations to the other ; and the result is not only a clear understanding, but an incentive to high resolve and a trumpet-call to duty. The Crown, through its representative, recognises its double duty of protection and self-restraint ; of protection, because it has assumed the task of defending the State and Chief against all foes and of promoting their joint interests by every means in its power ; of self-restraint, because the Paramount Power must be careful to abstain from any course calculated to promote its own interests at the expense of those of the State. For its part, the State, thus protected and secured, accepts the corresponding obligation to act in all things with loyalty to the Sovereign Power, to abstain from all acts injurious to the Government, and to conduct its own affairs with integrity and credit. These are the reciprocal rights and duties that are called to mind by the presence of the Viceroy on such an occasion as this ; and for my own part I should like to think that the ceremony of installation will be willingly undertaken by him in all cases where the high rank and the good reputation of the Chief may be held to deserve the compliment.

I sometimes think that there is no grander opportunity than that which opens out before a young Indian Prince invested with powers of rule at the dawn of manhood. He is among his own people. He is very likely drawn, as is the Maharaja whom we are honouring to-day, from an ancient and illustrious race. Respect and reverence are his natural heritage, unless he is base enough or foolish enough to throw them away. He has, as a rule, ample means at his disposal, enough both to gratify any reasonable desire, and to show charity and munificence to others. Subject to the control of the Sovereign Power, he enjoys very substantial authority, and can be a ruler in reality as well as in name. These are his private advantages. Then look at his public position. He is secure against rebellion inside the State or invasion from without. He need maintain no costly army, for his territories are defended for him ; he need fight

no wars, except those in which he joins voluntarily in the cause of the Empire. His State benefits from the railways and public works, the postal system, the fiscal system, and the currency system of the Supreme Government. He can appeal to its officers for guidance, to its practice for instruction, to its exchequer for financial assistance, to its head for encouragement and counsel. He is surrounded by every condition that should make life pleasant, and yet make it a duty. If in the face of all this he goes astray, if he practises self-indulgence, or thinks only of the gratification of his own tastes or passions, if he yields to flattery or becomes a ne'er-do-well and spendthrift, then I think that the fall is all the greater and the sadder because it is a fall from so high a pinnacle, and because in falling he is not only injuring and perhaps destroying himself, but he is dealing a blow at the class which he represents and the princely order from which he has sprung.

Maharaja, you are old enough to know all this and much more besides, for you have reached the age at which in England we describe a man as having attained his majority—in other words, you have completed your twenty-first year. I think it much better myself that a young Chief should not be installed too soon. To take a mere boy and trust him with ruling powers is often not fair either upon him or upon the State; and many of the mistakes of the past have been due in my judgment to the premature removal of all discipline and restraint from weak dispositions or ill-balanced minds. The Government of India must of course judge each case on its own merits as it arises; but the tests which it must require to be satisfied in each case are the same, namely, that the young Chief has received the education and the training, and that he possesses the character, that will qualify him to rule over men; and that the interests of his State and people will not be imperilled or sacrificed by his elevation.

It is because the Government of India believe this definition to be satisfied in your case that I am here, Maharaja, to instal you to-day. You have had a good education; you have passed through a period of restraint and discipline; you have attained to the years of maturity;

and I believe you to be inspired by a true and sincere desire to deserve well of your State and your people.

I need not repeat to you the truisms to which I have so often given utterance elsewhere. For you know as well as I do what is the difference between a good Chief and an inferior Chief; and you know that to those who belong to the former class opens out a vista of usefulness and honour and renown, while the latter are speedily wiped out and perish from the thoughts of men. But though I need not repeat any of these things, there is one consideration of which I may remind you, and which in itself will supply a stimulus to good deeds. Upon you it rests both to sustain the reputation of your family, so well known for loyalty and patriotism, and to support the honour and prestige of the Rajput name. There is a saying in the Latin language, namely, *Corruptio optimi pessima*, which means that the failure of the best becomes the worst; I think that it holds true of blood and race as well as of moral virtues. A Rajput Prince who falls away from the ideals of his house and clan is committing a worse offence than a smaller man, because he is casting a stain upon that which we are fond of regarding as the mirror of chivalry and high breeding. But a Rajput Prince who is noble in character and blameless in deeds is adding something on his own account to the ancestral and famous reputation of his race.

Above all, remember, Maharaja—and these shall be my final words,—that the life of a successful ruler cannot be a succession of fits and starts, now a spurt of activity and well-doing, and then a relapse into apathy or indifference. Every time that you slip backwards you miss some ground which it is difficult to recover. On the other hand, if each move is a step forward, however slight, your foothold is always secure and no one can upset you. Remember, therefore, that you are like a runner in a long-distance race, in which there is no need to go very quickly at the start, because you will want your breath and your strength later on, but in which you must husband your resources and regulate your speed. I call it a long-distance race, because in the case of a Ruling Chief the race only ends with his life. He cannot leave the course while he has

breath in him. Though he may have started on the first round when he was only a youth, he may still be engaged upon the last when his limbs are failing and his strength has grown dim. I earnestly hope that your course will be long and honourable ; that you will neither stumble nor lose heart ; and that many future Viceroys, as they visit this State in the years to come, may find the good omens of this day fulfilled, and may envy me for having inaugurated a rule that has turned out to be creditable to yourself and beneficial to your people.

DALY COLLEGE, INDORE

On November 4, 1905, sixty-five Chiefs and Thakors of Central India, with 10,000 followers, were assembled at Indore to bid farewell to the Viceroy and to be present at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new Daly Chiefs' College. Lord Curzon was prevented by illness from going to Indore to perform the ceremony, but deputed Mr. S. M. Fraser, lately Foreign Secretary, to read the speech which he was to have delivered, and which contained his parting message to the Chiefs of India. It was as follows :—

This is the last occasion, I imagine, on which I shall ever address an assemblage of Indian Chiefs. But it is perhaps not the least important, since we are founding or refounding here to-day one of those institutions in whose welfare I have always taken the deepest interest, because in their success is bound up the success of the princely class whose sons will be educated within its walls, and who will stand or fall in the future according to the character that is in them from their birth, and the shape that is given to that character by education.

The old Daly College was founded here as long ago as 1881, in the time of that excellent and beloved Political Officer, Sir Henry Daly. It was a College for the scions of the princely and aristocratic classes of Central India. It did its work within certain limits fairly well. But its scope was too narrow ; it was not sufficiently supported by those for whom it was intended ; it gradually dwindled in numbers and utility ; it became overshadowed by the Mayo College

at Ajmer ; and nearly four years ago, when I presided over the Conference on Chiefs' Colleges at Calcutta, we all felt that the best thing to do would be, not exactly to merge the Daly College in the larger institution, but to maintain it as a feeder to the latter, and to encourage the Central India chiefs to give their support and to send their sons for the finishing stages of their education to Ajmer.

Then two unforeseen things happened. In proportion as our interest and expenditure on the Mayo College began to strengthen and popularise that institution, turning it into a Chiefs' College worthy of the name, and drawing its recruits not from Rajputana only, but from the whole of Northern and even sometimes from Southern India—so did a spirit of emulation and pride begin to stir in the bosoms of the Central India Chiefs, and they said to themselves—Are we merely to be the handmaid of Ajmer? Shall we not have a *pucca* Chiefs' College of our own? May we not revive the glories of the Daly College and prove to the world that in the modern pursuit of enlightenment and progress Central India is not going to lag behind?

The second occurrence was this. I sent Major Daly as Agent to the Governor-General to Indore, and he speedily made the discovery that the Central India Chiefs were anxious, not indeed to withdraw their support from Ajmer, but to give it in independent and larger measure to a College of their own, and to find the money and provide the guarantees that would raise the Daly College to a level of equal dignity and influence. Imbued with natural ardour and with the additional desire to resuscitate and vindicate his father's original aim, he pushed the matter forward, as did Mr. Bayley in the interval before he left Central India for Hyderabad, and pressed the claims of the new scheme upon the Government of India.

Thus in the energy of these two officers, and still more in the enthusiasm and liberality of the Central India Chiefs, notably those of the wealthier States of Gwalior, Indore, and Rewa, we have the origin of the movement which we are carrying forward to-day to a further stage, and the secret of the rejuvenated Daly College, which, Phoenix-like, is about to spring from the unexhausted ashes of its predecessor, and

to start its new existence in the handsome and dignified setting of which I have just laid the first stone.

But what, it may be asked, Your Highnesses, is this College to do for your sons? I think I know what you want, and I am sure I know what the Government of India want, and I believe that we both want the same thing. We both desire to raise up a vigorous and intelligent race of young men who will be in touch with modern progress, but not out of touch with old traditions; who will be liberally educated, but not educated out of sympathy with their own families and people; who will be manly and not effeminate, strong-minded but not strong-willed, acknowledging a duty to others instead of being a law unto themselves, and who will be fit to do something in the world instead of settling down into fops or spendthrifts or drones. How are we to accomplish this? The answer is simple. First, you must have the College properly built, properly equipped, and properly endowed. Then you must have a good staff of teachers, carefully selected for their aptitudes and adequately paid, and a Principal who has a heart as well as a head for his task. Then you must have a sound curriculum, a spirit of local patriotism, and a healthy tone. And, finally, you must have two other factors, the constant support and patronage of the Political Officers who live in this place and in the various Central India States; and, above all, the personal enthusiasm, the close supervision, and the vital interest of the Chiefs themselves. I say "above all," because the lesson which the Chiefs of India have to learn, if they have not learned it already, is that these Colleges will depend in the last resort not upon Government support, but upon their support, and that the future is in their hands much more than in ours. Well, I have named rather a long list of requirements, and it contains a good many items. But there is not one of them that is not realisable by itself, and there is not the slightest reason why they should not all be realised in combination. You have a good model in the Mayo College, not so far away; this meeting of to-day shows that the sympathies of the Chiefs are in the undertaking; and if only you adhere to your present spirit and temper, success should be assured. I look forward to the day as

not far distant when each State, instead of having to come to the Government of India for any form of expert assistance that it may require, whether it be a Dewan, or a Councillor, or an Educational Officer, or an Estate Manager, or an Officer of Imperial Service Troops, or an Engineer, will have in its midst a body of young men, sprung from itself, living on its soil, and devoted to its interest, who will help the Chief or the Durbar in the work of development or administration. The old-fashioned sirdar or thakor who has followed the ways of his ancestors, and is often unacquainted with English, will tend to disappear, and will be replaced by a younger generation with new ideals and a modern education. The change will sometimes have its drawbacks; but it is inevitable, and on the whole it will be for the good. You cannot have a number of these Colleges scattered about India—there will now be four principal ones, namely, those at Ajmer, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore, as well as many subsidiary institutions,—you cannot turn out annually some scores of highly educated young Indian gentlemen, brought up with the sort of training that is given in these institutions, without producing a far-reaching effect upon the aristocracy of India. People do not see it yet, because they hardly know what we are doing at these places, or the immense strides that are being made. But in India I am always looking ahead. I am thinking of what will happen fifty years hence, and I confidently assert that from these years of active labour and fermentation there must spring results that will alter the face of Native States and will convert the Indian nobility and land-owning classes into a much more powerful and progressive factor in India of the future.

And now, Your Highnesses, in this my message of farewell to the Indian Princes what shall I say? They know that throughout my term of office one of my main objects has been to promote their welfare, to protect their interests, to stimulate their energies, and to earn their esteem. Nothing in this wonderful land, which has fired the impulses and drained the strength of the best years of my life, has appealed to me more than the privilege of co-operation with the Chiefs of India—men sprung from ancient lineage, endowed with no ordinary powers and responsibilities, and

possessing nobility of character as well as of birth. It seemed to me from the start that one of the proudest objects which the representative of the Sovereign in India could set before himself would be to draw these rulers to his side, to win their friendship, to learn their opinions and needs, and to share with them the burden of rule. That is why I called them my colleagues and partners in the speech that I made at Gwalior six years ago; why I bade them to Delhi and have frequently been honoured by their company at Calcutta; why I have personally installed this Chief, and enhanced the powers of that; have gone in and out among them, so that there is scarcely an accessible Native State in India that I have not visited; have corresponded with them and they with me; until at the end of it all I can truthfully speak of them not merely as colleagues and partners, but as personal friends. For the same reason I am here to-day, so that almost my last official act in India may be one that brings me into contact with the princely class to whom I am so deeply attached, and who have shown me such repeated marks of their regard, never more so than during the past few weeks in connection with my approaching departure.

Your Highnesses, what is it that we have been doing together during the past seven years? What marks or symptoms can we point to of positive advance? To me the answer seems very clear. The Chiefs have been doing a great deal, and the Government have been trying to do a great deal also. When their States have been attacked by famine, the Chiefs have readily accepted the higher and more costly standards of modern administration, and the Durbars have courageously thrown themselves into the struggle. There has been a noticeable rising of the tone and quality of internal administration all round; many of the Chiefs have reformed their currency, and have devoted more funds to public works and to education. They have learned to husband instead of squandering their resources, and have set before themselves a high conception of duty. When we have had external wars the Princes have freely offered assistance in troops, horses, and supplies. I cannot readily forget the hospital-ship which that enlightened Prince, Maharaja Scindia, who is here to-day, equipped at

his own expense and took out to China. Several of the Chiefs have volunteered their own services also. When I addressed them last year about Imperial Service Troops they replied to me in language of the utmost cordiality and encouragement. There have been other services that cannot be omitted. When we have internal calamity or distress, as in the case of the recent earthquake, the purses of the Chiefs are always open to help their suffering fellow-creatures in British India. Do we not all remember the princely benefaction of the Maharaja of Jaipur, who started the Indian People's Famine Trust with a gift of 21 lakhs, which was subsequently increased by the contributions of some of his brother Chiefs. There never was a more noble or magnanimous use of great riches. Finally, there were the splendid donations made by the Indian Princes to the Queen Victoria Memorial, from which is in course of being raised, at the capital of the Indian Empire, a building worthy to bear her illustrious name. When we began that great enterprise, there were plenty of critics to scoff and jeer, and not too many to help. Now the tide has turned. The foundation-stone of the main building will be laid in Calcutta in a few weeks' time by the Prince of Wales, and he will see in the collection already assembled in the Indian Museum and afterwards to be transferred to the Hall, such an exhibition of interesting and valuable objects as will make the Victoria Hall not only a fitting memorial to a venerated Sovereign, but a National Gallery of which all India may well be proud. During the past summer I have, as you know, addressed the majority of the Indian Princes as regards the objects to be gathered for this exhibition, and from their treasuries and armouries and *toshakkhanas* they have willingly produced, on gift or on loan, such a number of historical and valuable articles as will convert the Princes' Gallery of the future into a microcosm of the romance and pageantry of the East. When the Victoria Hall has been raised and equipped the Princes will be proud of their handiwork, and there will perhaps be one other individual far away who will have no cause to feel ashamed.

I have described to you the work of the Princes in recent years. Let me say a word about the work of the Govern-

ment. It has been our object to encourage and stimulate all those generous inclinations of which I have spoken. For this purpose we have lent to the Chiefs officers in famine times, officers for settlement, officers for irrigation programmes, officers as tutors and guardians. I would never force a European upon a Native State; but if a European is asked for or wanted, I would give the best. We have lent money on easy terms to such States as were impoverished, in order to finance them in adversity, and have remitted the interest on our loans. Then there are all the educational projects of which I have spoken, and of which this is one. When I look at the Chiefs' Colleges as they are now, with increased staffs, with a revised curriculum, with enlarged buildings, with boys hurrying to join them, with the chiefs eager to support, and contrast this with the old state of affairs, the contrast is great and gratifying indeed. Then there is that favourite of my own heart, the Imperial Cadet Corps, now in existence for over three years, turning out its quota of gentlemanly and well-educated young officers, four of whom have already received commissions in the army of the King-Emperor, already acquiring its own *esprit de corps* and traditions, assisted by the framework of beautiful buildings and surroundings at Dehra Dun, and about to send its past and present members down to Calcutta to escort the son of the Sovereign in the capital of India. With a full heart I commit to my successor, and to the Princes of India, the future of the Cadet Corps, trusting to them in combination to look after it, and to keep its reputation bright and its efficiency unimpaired.

I am also glad to think of the encouragement that I have been able to give to the Imperial Service Troops in my time. It has fallen to me to be the first Viceroy to employ them outside of India; and though I would not have dreamed of such a step except at the earnest solicitation of the Chiefs to whom the contingents belonged, I yet regarded it as an honour to concede this fresh outlet when it was sought by their ardent patriotism. I have already mentioned the personal appeal that I addressed to all the Chiefs last year about their Imperial Service contributions, and their generous

and gratifying response to it. When this matter has been settled, I hope that the Imperial Service Troops will have been placed on a firmer and broader basis than the present, without departing one iota from the sound principles that were formulated in the first place by Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne more than fifteen years ago. Those principles are essential to its vitality. The Imperial Service Troops must remain the forces of the Chiefs, controlled and managed by them under the supervision of the Viceroy. They must not be swept into the Indian Army, or treated as though they were the mercenaries of the Crown. They are nothing of the sort. They are the free and voluntary contributions of the Princes, and the Princes' troops they must remain.

During my term of office there are also a few stumbling-blocks that it has been a source of pride to me to assist to remove. Foremost among these was the time-honoured difficulty about Berar, which the sagacious intelligence and the sound sense of the Nizam enabled both of us to dispose of in a manner that neither has any reason to regret. I hope also to have facilitated the solution of the difficult and complex questions that have arisen out of the sea-customs in Kathiawar. There is only one other big measure that I had hoped to carry in the interest of the Chiefs in my time, but which, if it is permitted to bear fruit, I must now bequeath to my successor. I hope that he will love the Chiefs as I have done; and that they will extend to him, as I am sure that they will do, the confidence and the support which they have been good enough to give in such generous measure to me.

As regards the particular audience whom I am now addressing, I had intended, as Major Daly knows, to make a somewhat extended tour in Central India this winter. The majority of the Central India Chiefs I have already visited, and the Maharajas of Gwalior, Orchha, and Datia, the Begum of Bhopal, and the Raja of Dhar have received me in their homes. The remainder I had met at Delhi or elsewhere, and had hoped to see some of them again in the course of my tour. Now that this has had to be abandoned in consequence of my approaching departure, it has been a great compensation to me to receive your pressing invita-

tion to come here to-day and to meet you, on such an important occasion, for the last time. I may congratulate you also that in a few days' time you will all be able to welcome Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in this place. It must be gratifying to you that they are paying a special visit to Central India, and that you will all have the honour of meeting and conversing with the Heir to the Throne.

Your Highnesses, in a fortnight from now I shall be leaving this country, and the official tie that has united me for so long to the Princes and Chiefs of India will be snapped. No longer shall I have the official right to interest myself in their States, their administration, their people, their institutions, their families, themselves. But nothing can take away from me the recollection of the work that has been done with them. Nothing can efface the impression left upon me by their chivalry and regard. Long may they continue to hold their great positions, secure in the affection of their own subjects and assured of the support of the Paramount Power. May they present to the world the unique spectacle of a congeries of principalities, raised on ancient foundations, and cherishing the traditions of a famous past, but imbued with the spirit of all that is best and most progressive in the modern world, recognising that duty is not the invention of the schoolmaster but the law of life, and united in defence of a Throne which has guaranteed their stability and is strong in their allegiance.

CHIEFS' COLLEGES AND EDUCATION

RAJKUMAR COLLEGE, RAJKOT

ON November 5, 1900, the Viceroy distributed the prizes to the students of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, whom he addressed as follows:—

Between two and three years ago, before I came out to India as Viceroy, there was placed in my hands a book containing the addresses that had been delivered by an English Principal to his pupils in an Indian College. The College was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, in which I am now speaking; the author of the addresses was the late Mr. Chester Macnaghten.¹ I had not till that time been aware either of the existence of the College or of the name of the Principal; but, from what I read, I formed the opinion that here was an institution which, in spite of some discouragement at the start, and amid many drawbacks and obstacles, was doing a noble work for the rising generation of the princely and aristocratic families of Kathiawar and Guzerat, and that it had in its first Principal a man of high character, of lofty ideals, and with a peculiar gift for exciting enthusiasm. Mr. Macnaghten has since died, after a service of twenty-six years as the head of this College, with which his name will always be associated, where now before the entrance his statue stands, and which his ideals may I hope for long continue to inspire. But he has found a worthy successor in Mr. Waddington, to whose interesting address we have just listened, and who carries on the work of the College upon the same liberal and progressive lines. In such hands its future should be as secure as its past has already been fruitful.²

¹ *Common Thoughts on Serious Subjects*. London, 1896.

² Mr. Waddington was afterwards appointed by Lord Curzon to be Principal of the Mayo College at Ajmer, which post he still holds.

A year ago when I was at Rajkot I visited this place and was shown over the buildings by Mr. Waddington. Unfortunately the College was then in vacation, and only a few of the Kumars were in residence. Still I was enabled to understand the internal economy of the College, and to grasp the principles which regulate both the physical and the mental tuition of the boys. You may judge what a pleasure it is to me, who am an old public school boy and college man myself, to see you all here to-day, upon the occasion of your annual Prize Distribution or Commemoration Day ; to have listened to your recitations, which seemed to me to be most excellently done ; to be invited to hand the prizes to the successful competitors of the past year, and to say a few words to the assembled Kumars. One feature of these functions I will, however, spare you. I do not propose to tell the boys who have not won prizes on the present occasion that they are just as clever and as good as the boys who have, though this is the customary form of encouragement to administer, because it is obviously not the case. Neither will I tell you that your education, when you leave this College, is not ended, but is only just beginning, because I assume that you are sufficiently intelligent to know that already. Nor will I say that you should henceforward act in a manner worthy of the traditions of the College, because if this institution has existed for thirty years without producing in its students the *esprit de corps* of which I speak, nothing that I can say would now inculcate it, while it would be doubtful whether, in such a case, the place itself was worthy to exist at all. I prefer to make a few observations to you connected both with the present position of the College and with the future that lies before those who have passed through its courses.

To me it is quite clear that the Rajkumar College demands, just as I think that it also deserves, the continued support and confidence of the Chiefs. It was by their contributions and princely endowments that this institution was started. By their donations were built the lecture rooms, and living quarters, and halls. They have given the prizes and medals which it has been my good fortune to

distribute to-day. No assistance was rendered by Government either in the construction or in the maintenance of these buildings. The Political Agent in Kathiawar is, I believe, the Chairman of the Governing Council ; and undoubtedly the advice which an experienced officer like Colonel Hunter is in a position to give you must be invaluable. Indeed, but for the exertions of one of his predecessors, Colonel Keatinge, in all probability the College would never have sprung into being ; while later incumbents of the post, such as that capable and sympathetic administrator, Sir James Peile, have sedulously watched and encouraged its growth. On the other hand, while you cannot dispense with this form of aid and guidance, it is upon the continuous interest and liberality of the Chiefs themselves that the future of the College must, in the main, depend. If they continue to give their support it will flourish. If they are apathetic, or indifferent, or hostile, it will dwindle and pine. From this point of view I was very pleased to hear of the wise step by which a number of the Ruling Chiefs, most of whom have themselves been educated in the College, have lately been associated with its government, by being placed upon the Council. They are bound to its interests by the double tie of old fellowship and of responsibility as members of the ruling order ; and in their hands, if they do their duty, its future should be safe.

At the present moment I believe that no fewer than twelve out of the thirty-two Ruling Chiefs of Kathiawar have been educated at the Rajkumar College ; and I am not paying either them or the College any undue compliment when I add that they are among the most enlightened and capable of their class. Of course we cannot compel every Chief or Thakor to send his sons or the cadets of his family here. There were a large number who resented the apparent wrench to social habits and native traditions at the beginning. Some have never yet quite relinquished this suspicion. There will also always be a certain number of parents who will prefer private tuition for their sons, or education at the hand of native teachers, or a course of study abroad. I would not interfere with their discretion : each parent has his own ideas about the bringing up of his boys ; and I can

conceive nothing worse than to force all fathers or all sons into the same mould—you would get a very dismal and flattened-out type of character as the result. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, I would appeal to the ruling families of Guzerat and Kathiawar, and indeed of the Bombay Presidency as a whole, to continue their support to this institution, and to send their sons and grandsons here, both because I think that the system itself is sufficiently elastic to escape the dangers of stereotyping a particular form or cast of character of which I have spoken, and because I do not entertain a doubt that the general influence of the College has been and is of inestimable value in its influence upon the well-being and good government of the province.

And now, a few words to the young men and boys whom I see before me. Mr. Waddington used what seemed to me to be wise words when he spoke of the difficulty of transplanting the best in Western thought and tradition without impairing the Indian's love for his home and his country. That is, and has been, and will continue to be the difficulty all along. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that because in this, and the other Chiefs' Colleges in Northern and Central India, the boys are given the nearest equivalent of which India admits to an English public school education, the aim is, therefore, to turn them outright into English boys. If this College were to emancipate its students from old-fashioned prejudices or superstitions at the cost of denationalisation, I for one should think the price too heavy. The Anglicised Indian is not a more attractive spectacle in my eyes than the Indianised Englishman. Both are hybrids of an unnatural type. No, we want the young Chiefs who are educated here to learn the English language, and to become sufficiently familiar with English customs, literature, science, modes of thought, standards of truth and honour, and I may add with manly English sports and games, to be able to hold their own in the world in which their lot will be cast, without appearing to be dullards or clowns, and to give to their people, if they subsequently become rulers, the benefit of enlightened and pure administration. Beyond that we do not press them to go. After all, those Kumars who become Chiefs are called

upon to rule, not an English, but an Indian people ; and as a prince who is to have any influence and to justify his own existence must be one with his own subjects, it is clear that it is not by English models alone, but by an adaptation of Eastern prescriptions to the Western standard that he can hope to succeed. Chiefs are not, as is sometimes imagined, a privileged body of persons. God Almighty has not presented them with a *sunnud* to do nothing in perpetuity. The State is not their private property ; its revenues are not their privy purse. They are intended by Providence to be the working bees and not the drones of the hive. They exist for the benefit of their people ; their people do not exist for them. They are intended to be types, and leaders, and examples. A Chief at whom any one of his subjects can point the finger of scorn is not fit to be a Chief. If these views are correct, it is clear that this College has a great and responsible work devolved upon it, since it ought to be not merely a school of men, but a nursery of statesmen ; and that the worst way of discharging its trust would be to rob its pupils of their surest claim to the confidence of their countrymen—which is this, that, though educated in a Western curriculum, they should still remain Indians, true to their own beliefs, their own traditions, and their own people.

Therefore, Chiefs and pupils of the Rajkumar College, I say this to you—and it is my parting word—Be loyal to this College ; spread its name abroad, and see to it that, in your own persons, it is justified before men. While you are proud to acquire the accomplishments of English gentlemen, do not forget that you are Indian nobles or Indian Princes. Let the land of your birth have a superior claim upon you to the language of your adoption, and recollect that you will be remembered in history, if you earn remembrance, not because you copied the habits of an alien country, but because you benefited the inhabitants of your own. If I could feel that my poor words were likely to waken in any of the young men whom I am addressing, and who may be destined to high responsibility in the future, a keener and fresher sense of duty than has perhaps hitherto occurred to his mind, the pleasure which I have experienced in coming

here to-day, which is already great, would be tenfold, nay a hundredfold greater.

CONFERENCE AT CALCUTTA

In January 1902 the Viceroy convened a Conference at Calcutta to discuss the question of reform in the constitution and curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges in India. This Conference, which lasted for four days, was attended by the principal political officers from all parts of India, by representatives of the native Chiefs and ministers, and by the heads of the existing Chiefs' Colleges. Lord Curzon presided over the Conference, and opened it with the following speech :—

Before we proceed to discuss the subject for which I have invited you to Calcutta, I should like to indicate how and why it is that the occasion has arisen, and in what manner I am anxious to profit by your advice in dealing with it. Chiefs' Colleges in this country, or Rajkumar Colleges as they are sometimes called, are the growth entirely of the last thirty years. They are the outcome of the growing desire, which has manifested itself in every class of the community, to keep abreast of the times, and to give to the rising generation in India an education that shall enable them to hold their own in a world of constant change and ever-increasing competition. These ideas have found their way into the minds even of the most conservative classes. It has become apparent that neither private tuition, nor the practices and institutions of Native States or territories, succeed altogether in giving to the sons of Chiefs and nobles that all-round education, particularly in relation to character, that is admittedly the product of the English public school system. To many of the Indian nobility the discovery has come slowly ; to some, perhaps, it has not yet come at all. Nevertheless, of the general existence and steady growth of this feeling among the upper classes of Indian society there can be no doubt, and it was partly to meet the demand where it already existed, partly to anticipate it where it had not yet found expression, that Government has interested itself in the foundation of a small number

of Colleges, directly designed to provide a superior type of education for the sons of the princely and aristocratic families of India.

The first of these Colleges to be started was the Rajkumar College at Rajkot in 1870. This was originally intended for the Chiefs and noble families of Kathiawar, but has, in recent times, acquired a wider scope, and is now recognised as the Chiefs' College for the entire Bombay Presidency. Next came the Mayo College at Ajmer, the idea of which originated with Colonel Walter as far back as 1869, but which only took concrete shape after the lamented death of Lord Mayo in 1872, and in memory of him. Planted in the heart of Rajputana, and intended to provide more especially for the youth of the Rajput titled houses, this College has perhaps excited the most widespread attention. A Rajkumar College was also founded in memory of the same illustrious Viceroy at Nowgong for the Chiefs of Bundelkhund. At Indore there was a Residency College which had been instituted at about the same time by Sir H. Daly for the families of the Chiefs of Central India, and which afterwards developed into a more ambitious concern, and received the designation of the Daly College, in honour of its original parent. There not being scope for two such institutions within so short a distance of each other, the Nowgong College was in 1898 amalgamated with the Daly College at Indore. Next in date followed the Aitchison College at Lahore, which was founded in 1886 by the distinguished Lieutenant-Governor of that name as a school for the nobility and gentry of the Punjab. Smaller and less influential schools have been started in different parts of India for the education of the sons of Chiefs and gentry of lower rank or more humble means. Such are the Colvin School at Lucknow for the sons of the Oudh talukdars, and the Raipur College for the sons of the Chattisgarh Chiefs. I might also mention the Girasia Colleges at Gondal and Wadhwan in Kathiawar. I am not called upon to deal with this latter class of institutions on the present occasion. Similarly, the Mohammedan College at Aligarh stands outside of my present inquiry, since, although it is patronised by families of very good position, it is not a

Chiefs' College, and is founded upon the basis of creed rather than of rank. It is with the four Chiefs' Colleges at Ajmer, Lahore, Rajkot, and Indore that I am principally concerned to-day, and it is their condition and prospects that I am about to submit to examination.

Of the apparent success of these Colleges there are many external symptoms. They have attracted the abilities and have inspired the life-service of more than one remarkable man, foremost among whom I would name Mr. Chester Macnaghten, who devoted twenty-six years of a short but noble life to the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. They have sent out into the world a number of distinguished pupils, some of whom are now Ruling Chiefs, while others have carried the name of their College on to even wider fields. They have attracted the quinquennial visits of Viceroys, and the more frequent patronage of the heads of local administrations. They have even given birth to a school literature, specially designed to commemorate the exploits and fame of the particular *alma mater*. Three of the Colleges I have had the good fortune to visit myself since I have been in India, and I have devoted a good deal of attention to the subject of their management and curriculum. More recently my interest in them has been guided into a fresh channel by the gracious permission of His Majesty the King-Emperor to institute an Imperial Cadet Corps, which will be recruited in the main from the Chiefs' Colleges, and will provide for the pick of their pupils that opening in the field of military service which has hitherto been denied to the aristocratic ranks of India. In connection with the first formation of this corps, it became my duty to institute a somewhat close examination into the circumstances of each College. I became familiar with many virtues, but I also learned many defects, which, I believe, have long been recognised and bewailed by those who have far more right to speak than I. It is in order to strengthen and extend the good features of the system, and, if possible, to purge away the blemishes, that I have invited you to this Conference.

The original object with which these Colleges were founded has often been defined. It was in order to fit the young Chiefs and nobles of India physically, morally, and

intellectually for the responsibilities that lay before them, to render them manly, honourable, and cultured members of society, worthy of the high station that as Ruling Chiefs, as thakors or sirdars, as landlords or jagirdars, or in other walks of life, awaited them in the future. With this object in view the founders of these institutions, deliberately selecting the English public school system as that which had best succeeded in doing a similar work among the higher ranks of English society, sought to reproduce its most salient features here. Indian boys of the upper classes were taken away from the narrow and often demoralising existence of their homes, and were thrown together in the boarding-house, the class-room, and the play-ground. Instead of being the solitary suns of petty firmaments, they became co-ordinate atoms in a larger whole. In the Colleges they were taught exercises and drill and games. They received the elements of a liberal education. They learned that there was a wider life than that of a Court, and larger duties than those of self-indulgence. In all these respects the Chiefs' Colleges in India have followed, at a distance it may be, but with anxious fidelity, their English prototypes.

But there I am afraid that the resemblance stops. In our eagerness to think that all is going well, and in the proneness of mankind to mistake the appearance for the reality, we run the risk of shutting our eyes to considerations which a more careful scrutiny will not fail to reveal. In the world of nature a plant cannot suddenly be shifted from some foreign clime, and expected straightway to flourish in a novel temperature and a strange soil. So it is with the public school system in India. Never let us forget that it is not a plant of indigenous origin or of easy growth in this country. In its essence the system is contrary to the traditional sentiments of Indian parents of the aristocratic classes, and to the hereditary instincts of Indian sons. Those sentiments and those instincts are gradually changing, but they cannot be twisted round and revolutionised even in a generation. It is a work that may occupy the best part of a century. Moreover, some of the best and most cardinal features of English public school education we cannot, at any rate for many a long day, reproduce here.

Take the question of numbers. The four principal English public schools contain a total of nearly 2500 boys. The four Chiefs' Colleges in India only contain between them from 180 to 190. How can a College, whose students only range from 20 to 60, be compared with a school of 500 or of 1000? In this respect it is really more like a private or preparatory school than a public school. Numbers, too, represent much more than a mere arithmetical disparity. With a small number of boys you cannot have the perpetual play of one character upon another that follows from participation in a crowded society; your pupils are too few to compete among themselves; your institutions are too small to compete with each other. You inevitably lack the vitalising influences that produce *esprit de corps* and that give fibre to character.

Again, one of the chief sources of a healthier result in the English system is a feature that is difficult of reproduction, and, as I shall say later, ought not, in my opinion, to be forcibly reproduced here. Eton is an aristocratic school organised upon a democratic basis. It was not always so. It has become so in the process of time. The scions of the nobility are commonly sent there by their parents; but there is nothing to prevent the son of the *parvenu* from being sent too. All mix together on a footing of social equality. That is impossible in India, and will be impossible—even if it were desirable, which I think it is not—for many a long day to come. Here the class distinctions are much sharper and more stubborn than in the West. They are ingrained in the traditions of the people, and they are indurated by prescriptions of religion and race. You do not, therefore, get here, and you cannot expect to get, that easy intercourse between high and low, titled and untitled, rich and poor, which is the most striking external symptom of public school life in England. You have to deal with a more primitive state of society and with feelings whose roots are intertwined in the depths of human nature. That levelling down of class distinctions without detriment to the sanctions of class respect, which is so marked a characteristic of English civilisation, cannot be expected ready made in a country like this.

I will notice two other points of difference. A good deal of the success of the English public school system, for which it gains a credit that it does not exclusively deserve, lies in the fact that it is not an education by itself. It is only a five or six years' interlude in an education that is going on for at least double that time. It is preceded by the private school, which very often lays the foundations, and it is, in a large number of cases, followed by the University, which puts on the coping-stone. If a boy went straight to Eton or Harrow at the age of eight or nine, having never learned anything before, and left at the age of eighteen, never intending to learn anything afterwards, we might hear a good deal more about the failures of the English public school system than we do. Now the situation that I have depicted is exactly that which prevails here. Most of the boys whom you train in the Chiefs' Colleges are hopelessly raw when they come; a good many are still immature when they go. That is the result of the conditions under which you work. One of my objects is to see whether we cannot in some respect modify them. But let it not be forgotten that this is a handicap by which your efforts are materially and unavoidably retarded.

The concluding respect in which the Indian Chiefs' Colleges fall far behind their English prototypes lies in the dearth of those influences which are associated with the boarding-house. In England a boy is continuously exposed to these influences from morning till night. He is not only taught in the class-room, or the lecture-room, for brief periods at stated hours. His house-master, who is really responsible for his bringing up, is always teaching him too, teaching him not merely by tasks and lessons, but by watching and training his combined moral and intellectual growth. It is the house-master, far more than the class-master, that is, as a rule, responsible for the final shape in which the public school boy is turned out. But in your Indian Chiefs' Colleges the reverse plan is adopted. You bring the boy into contact with his teacher during the few hours in which he is being taught; and then you take and shut him up in a boarding-house, where he is surrounded by *motamids*, or *musahibs*, or native tutors, or guardians, who may be the

best men in the world, but who are separated off from the staff, the curriculum, and the educative influence of the College. In fact, you divide his College career into two water-tight compartments. The boy is transferred from the one to the other at stated intervals of the day or night ; and you sacrifice the many advantages that accrue from a single existence with an undivided aim.

These, then, appear to me to be the chief respects in which the Indian public school system differs, and to a certain extent must necessarily differ, from its European models. I pass on to consider certain other points in which its weaknesses are deserving of closer examination, and in which reform may be possible.

The first point that strikes me is the relative paucity of the numbers that are being educated in the Chiefs' Colleges in India. The Mayo College, I believe, contains accommodation for 150 pupils ; but there are at the present time only about 50 on the rolls, and the maximum number ever entertained there has not been more than 80.¹ Yet there are 18 ruling chiefs in Rajputana, while I have seen the number of aristocratic families reckoned at 300. The Aitchison College contains less than 70 boys, but the Punjab should be capable of furnishing double that number. The Rajkot College has 45 pupils ; but if its area of recruitment be the entire Bombay Presidency, or even if it be the northern half of it alone, the total ought, I should think, to be very much greater. The highest number contained in the Indore College has, I believe, been 28. There are now 23 ; and in what relation such a figure stands to the capacity of the Central Indian States it is unnecessary for me to point out. The closing of the Nowgong College has not diverted the current of Bundela recruits to Indore, for I learn that no pupils from those States are being educated in the Daly College. The reflections suggested by these figures are not altogether encouraging ; and their effect is not diminished, but enhanced, when we remember how many of the existing students have been sent to the Colleges as minors or wards of Court—in other words, not owing to the

¹ Before Lord Curzon left India, the number of pupils, in consequence of the reforms which were foreshadowed in this speech, had risen to over 90.

spontaneous choice of their parents or families. A number of Chiefs, more enlightened or less conservative than their fellows, have given to the Colleges their continuous support. They have sent their sons there, or been educated there themselves, and in the next generation the sons of these old boys are, in some cases, already following their fathers. But we all know that there is a large number who have stood and who continue to stand aloof, and it is their attitude that we must make a serious attempt to understand, and their sympathies that we must endeavour to enlist.

From such information as I possess, I am led to think that their hostility or indifference springs in the main from three causes. There are, first of all, the deeply embedded conservatism of the States, the tradition that the young Chief or noble should be brought up and trained among his own people, the zenana influence which is frightened at the idea of an emancipated individuality, and the Court surroundings, every unit in which is conscious of a possible loss of prerogative or authority to itself in the future, should a young recruit from the West appear upon the scene and begin to stir up the sluggish Eastern pools. These are influences which can only be overcome by the spread of enlightenment and by the breaking down of obsolete barriers.

Next I place the belief that the education given in the Chiefs' Colleges is too costly. In comparison with our English public schools it is extremely cheap. But that is not an altogether fair test to apply. Many of the Chiefs have been very hard hit in recent years by famine and other adversities. It is all that they can do to make both *ends* meet; and if they find that the boys of the family can be much more cheaply educated either by a private tutor at home, or, in the less exalted ranks, by being sent to a neighbouring high school, it is not an unnatural thing that they should attach some value to these financial considerations. I think we ought to discuss whether there is any validity in this criticism, and, if so, whether it is possible in any way to meet it.

Thirdly, I am doubtful whether the Chiefs are entirely

satisfied with the class and quality of education that the Colleges provide. I may not correctly interpret their views. But the points in which I think that they might fairly criticise the present system are these. It might be said in the case of almost every College that we have spent too much upon bricks and mortar, and have left too little for tuition. How can the best pupils be expected without the best teachers, and how can the best teachers be forthcoming unless you offer them adequate prospects and pay? Where are the public schools men, and where are the University graduates, European and Indian, upon your staffs, and what is their number? Are they a happy or are they a discontented and constantly changing body of men? Slow promotion, low pay, and no pension would, I expect, be the tale that a good many would tell. Then I wonder whether it might not be said that the education that is imparted at the Colleges is neither sufficiently practical nor sufficiently serious. You desire to prepare a young man to be a land-owner. Do you give him precisely the instruction that will fit him for that object? In future you will want your best pupils to be selected for the Imperial Cadet Corps. Is your training well qualified to prepare them for such duties? When the youth is to become a Ruling Chief you wish to give him the all-round education of a gentleman. He should obviously be a master of the vernacular of his country. He ought to be acquainted with a classical language, so that he may not be shut off from the literature of the East. If he is to learn English—and English is the only gateway through which he can attain to the full benefit of his teaching—then he should acquire, not a perfunctory, but a solid command of the English tongue. I have no sufficient ground for impugning the discipline and the morality of the Colleges, the general average of which is reported to be good. But I own to the impression that attendance is in some cases very slack, that boys come and stay away rather as they please, that admission is made too easy—though, if there is a difficulty in procuring candidates, this may be a pardonable error,—and that superannuation and punishment are not easy enough. If there is any truth in these impressions, then it is possible that an air of

insufficient seriousness may be spread abroad which must indirectly affect the reputation of the Colleges.

There is a further respect in which I desire information. It occurs to me that in some cases the Colleges, instead of recognising that they have been founded for a definite and special object, have dropped somewhat too easily into the current of the provincial educational system. Examinations by members of the Provincial Education Department, classes that are assimilated to those of the middle and secondary schools, standards that are borrowed from those of their neighbours—all of these may be to some extent inevitable; but I am not prepared offhand to accept them as irreproachable, or even as right. I know that in some cases very useful and practical courses have been substituted for them. This is a question that we must examine. Here I will only say that the idea that the Chiefs' Colleges exist as preparatory schools for the Indian Universities appears to me to be a fundamental misconception. In my opinion they are constituted, not to prepare for examinations, but to prepare for life.

These remarks will have afforded some idea of the lines upon which I think that our labours should proceed. In the first place, I would keep firmly to the original object for which the Chiefs' Colleges were founded, namely, as seminaries for the aristocratic classes. I would not unduly democratise them. In this respect I would not aspire to the ideal of the English public school. The time is not yet. I would frankly admit that a Rajkumar College rests, as its name implies, upon class distinction; and if any one is found to deprecate such a basis, I would reply that it is neither an ignoble nor a strange distinction, that it is familiar in all countries, that it is founded upon sentiment inherent in human nature, that it is congenial to the East, and that it is compatible with the finest fruits of enlightenment and civilisation. Neither do I want to see these Colleges reduced to the dull drab uniformity of the board school, with an English principal and a cricket-ground thrown in to give a dash of colour. Let us keep them as what they were intended to be, and not turn them into a composite construction that is neither one thing nor the other.

Next let us try to make the education businesslike and practical, and, where we have not got them, let us secure the teachers, and let us adopt the courses that will tend to that result. If I am to come to you for my Imperial Cadets, I must have reasonable security that you will give me not a callow and backward fledgling, but a young man with the capabilities of an officer, and the instincts, the manners, and the education of a gentleman. Similarly, let us make clear that the thakors and jagirdars and zemindars of the future, to which class the majority of your boys belong, are sent away to their future careers with a training in the elements of agricultural science, in civil engineering, in land records and measurement, and in knowledge of stock and plants, that will be useful to them. If it is a future ruler that is being shaped for the responsibilities of his life, then let him be given that all-round education in history, geography, mathematics, political economy, and political science which will save him from degenerating into either a dilettante or a sluggard. I am sure that if even the most old-fashioned of Chiefs were to see his boy come back to him, turned from an idler into a man of business, his heart would warm towards the institution which had effected such a change.

Among the subjects that we must examine is the question whether, in relation to the figures that I have previously given, any greater concentration of Chiefs' Colleges is desirable. We shall probably all agree that an expansion in the number of pupils in each College is desirable; but what is the case as regards the expansion or contraction of the number of Colleges themselves? Have we sufficient, or too many, or too few?

Finally, I would like to ask you whether we cannot do anything, apart from a rise in the number of students, to promote an interchange of relations between the various Colleges. Each lives its own little life by itself. Attempts at intercourse have been made in respect of sports and games. But I suspect that we could do a good deal more. An exchange of teachers, or lecturers, or examiners, even a system of common examinations, are suggestions that may, at least, be worthy of discussion.

Reconstruction, reform, or expansion of any kind, I know

well, means money, and I have not proceeded as far as this without realising that my hearers will ask me whether all these suggestions, presuming them to be acceptable, are to be backed by any more solid support. My answer is "Yes." I regard the reputation and duty of Government as directly interested in the future of these Colleges. I do not say, if they fail, that we shall be responsible for their failure ; but I do say that we are bound to do what we can to ensure their success. If this can only be accomplished by giving more money, I will do my best to provide it ; though I do not intend for one moment to make extravagance a cloak for future disappointment or further failure. But I realise that the resources of the Colleges are in some cases inadequate, and that if additional machinery, or a readjustment of the existing mechanism, is required, we may reasonably be asked to contribute towards it.

If, however, I am willing to make this admission, then I have a corresponding claim to make upon the Chiefs. I have a right to ask them for their support, not merely in funds—for many have given, and continue to give, handsomely in that respect,—but in personal sympathy and direct patronage. If the Chiefs' Colleges are to be kept going and to be reformed in their interests, they must deserve the boon : they must abandon the attitude of suspicion and hanging back. I am ready to do anything within reason to attract their confidence to these Colleges ; and it will not be fair upon me, if they accept all these endeavours, and then continue to sit apart and to look askance. Let them contrast the healthy life of the school with the hothouse atmosphere of indulgence and adulation in which in bygone times too many of the native aristocracy have been brought up, and from which it has required real strength of character for a man to shake himself free. Let them remember that this education is offered to them to render their sons and relatives better and more useful men ; not to stunt their liberties, but to invigorate their freedom. Let them recollect that it is probably the only education that these young men will get in their lives, and that the days are gone for ever when the ignorant and backward can sit in the seat of authority. The passionate cry of the twentieth century, which is re-echoing

through the Western world, is that it will not suffer dunces gladly. The prophets of the day are all inviting us to be strenuous and efficient. What is good for Europe is equally good for Asia ; and what is preached in England will not suffer by being practised here. If the Chiefs ask me how they can help, the answer is simple. Where they have means, let them support or endow the Colleges. Where they have not means, but have families, let them send the boys. Let them visit the Colleges, attend the functions, take part in the management, show an interest in the entire concern. If this is the spirit in which they will meet me, I venture to think that we can soon make up the lost leeway, and that the Government and the native aristocracy in combination—for neither can do it apart—will be able to convert the Rajkumar Colleges of India into something more worthy of the name.

MAYO COLLEGE, AJMER

On November 19, 1902, the Viceroy distributed the prizes to the students of the Mayo College, Ajmer, and addressed them as follows :—

Two of my predecessors, Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin, have distributed prizes at the Mayo College. A third and earlier Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, opened it. I come here as the fourth in this unbroken line of succession to testify my interest in the College, and to speak to you a few words about the manner in which it has been in my power to demonstrate it. Had the College been in session, and had I presided in this Hall when first I visited Ajmer three years ago, my sympathies would have been not less warm than they are now. But I should not have enjoyed the same opportunities of vindicating them, and I should not have been able to state to you so unreservedly what the new and, as I hope, liberal policy of the Government of India towards this and similar institutions is to be.

As Viceroy of India I feel an intense responsibility for these Chiefs' Colleges. They were founded upon an English model which was itself an innovation in this country, and

which threw upon the authors of it either the credit for success or the blame for failure ; and they were instituted for the sake of the Indian Chiefs and their sons, who are the special interest of the Viceroy, because he manages all relations with them, and is, so far as the need for it arises, their patron and protector and friend. I felt all the greater responsibility when I recognised that these Colleges, in spite of the good results which they have produced and the admirable pupils whom they have turned out, had not won the entire confidence of the Chiefs to the extent that the Government of India have always desired, and had not therefore completely fulfilled the conception of their founders. It was to discuss these matters that I held the Conference at Calcutta in January last, at which we threshed out pretty well every question, great and small, connected with the future of the Mayo and other Rajkumar Colleges. Our views have now been circulated for reference to the various local authorities and to the Chiefs, and it is about them that I desire to say a few words this afternoon.

First let me state the principles upon which I proceed. In my view it is essential to the welfare of a nation that its aristocracy should not be divorced from its public life. Those countries in which the nobility have detached themselves or have been separated by circumstances from the current of the national existence, where they have ceased to be actors and become merely spectators, are either in a state of suspended progress, or are like a man with his right arm bandaged and in a sling. He is badly handicapped when he finds himself in a tight place. Whether the aristocracy of birth and descent be in principle a sound or an unsound thing, there can be no question of its popularity, its wide range of influence, and its efficacy as an instrument of rule. In India the aristocracy has a stronger position than in almost any European country that I know. For it has behind it the records of ancient lineage and brave deeds, it is respected and even beloved by the people, and under the system of adoption that has been sanctioned by the British Government, it is practically incapable of extinction. With all these advantages in its favour there

ought to be no country where the aristocratic principle should so easily and thoroughly justify itself. But the Chiefs and nobles in India have to fight against a double danger. On the one side is the survival of the archaic and obsolete idea that rank is a dispensation from work instead of a call to it, and that a Chief need do nothing in the world beyond spend the money drawn from his people and enjoy himself. This old-fashioned idea is dying fast. But there are always a certain number of persons, either fossils or parasites, who are concerned in trying to keep it alive; and so long as it continues to exist, the Indian aristocracy cannot put forth the full measure of its great influence and strength. Then there is the second danger, which is in my judgment much more alarming. This is the danger that in our desire to train up the rising generation to a wider conception of their duties, we may allow their training to run ahead of their opportunities, and may produce in them inclinations or capacities which are unsuited to their surroundings, or for which there is afterwards an insufficient field.

This is the chief preoccupation that has been present in my mind in considering the future of the Chiefs' Colleges ever since I have been in India. It is of no use to bring the boys here, and then to teach them things which will not be of service to them in after life. Neither is it of any use to turn out a perfect type of polo-player or a gentleman and then find nothing for him to do. We cannot go on playing polo all our lives: while even a gentleman is better when he is doing something than when he is idle. These Colleges must not be forcing houses which stimulate an artificial growth or produce a precocious bloom, but open-air gardens where the plant can follow a healthy and organic development. Hence it is that at the Calcutta Conference and ever since, we have been working out our plans, firstly to make the training that we give here more practical, and secondly to connect it more directly with the duties and demands of the life that we want to provide for the young man when he has left the College.

With the first of these objects in view we propose to make considerable changes both in the teaching staff and in

the curriculum of the Chiefs' Colleges. We mean to have more masters and the highest type of them ; and we propose for all of the Colleges what you have here already, viz. a separate course of studies for the pupils distinct from the prescribed courses of the Education Department—which were instituted for other purposes and are not always suitable. We also hope to arrange for separate systems of examination and inspection. Our idea is that we do not want to turn out from the Chiefs' Colleges precisely the same type of educational product that is manufactured by the thousand elsewhere ; but that, if a boy is to be a ruling chief or a minister or a magistrate, we want to give him the education that will make him a good ruler or administrator or judge ; if he is to be a thakor or zemindar, the education that will make him a good landowner ; if an Imperial Cadet or an officer of the Imperial Service Troops, the education that will make him a good officer and leader of men. Then, as regards opportunities, we shall, I hope, as time proceeds, find no lack of opening for the activities of those whom we shall have thus trained. I have deliberately organised the Imperial Cadet Corps upon the basis of the Rajkumar Colleges ; and the bulk of the Cadetships will be given to their pupils. Thus there is a direct object in view to which the best boys will always aspire, and which will be the goal of their collegiate ambitions. I hope, as time goes on, that even further openings may be found for the abilities of boys who pass through these Colleges ; and that the Kumar, instead of beginning his education when he enters these walls, and finishing it when he leaves them, may regard his College career here as only one stage—though not the least important—in a life of public industry and usefulness.

In carrying out the programme of reform which I have sketched, Government are not going to stint their own liberality. We are prepared to spend an additional sum of nearly a lakh a year in improving the system. It is not money which we shall be spending upon ourselves, or from which Government will reap a direct return. But it will be money devoted to the cause of the Indian aristocracy, which in my view is bound up with the British Government in this

country, and stands or falls with it ; and it will be money devoted to making better citizens and more valuable public servants of those who are by birth and inheritance the natural pillars of the State.

Now, as I said at Calcutta, if Government is thus bestirring itself and loosening its purse strings for the sake of the class for whom this and the other Chiefs' Colleges were founded, then I think that the leaders of that class, in other words the Indian Chiefs, must play their part in return. We are not going to force down their throats anything distasteful or repugnant to them. I have already consulted many upon the changes that we propose to introduce, and this College was represented at the Conference by one of the best of its former pupils, who is now a ruling chief, viz. the Maharao of Kota. I have further issued a circular letter inviting the opinions of all of the Chiefs as to the manner and degree in which we shall be wise in introducing the projected reforms ; and I shall lose no opportunity of inviting their co-operation. To what extent that co-operation is required may be shown by the fact that though the Mayo College can accommodate 100 boys, there are at present only 52 on the rolls.

Udaipur ought to be one of your chief supporters, but I have heard that there is at present only one boy in the College from that important State. In my recent visit to its just and capable ruler, I asked him whether he could not encourage a more friendly attitude in his State ; and he assured me that he would freely and gladly give me his aid. I am sanguine that this will produce good results : and I shall hope to evoke a similar response elsewhere.

Pupils of the College, I have been kept so busy with the various things that I wanted to say upon the present occasion about the future of this and the other Chiefs' Colleges, that I have had no time to utter any words of sympathy or encouragement to yourselves. After all, I do not think that they are necessary. Boys listen to homilies with great earnestness, but I think that they also forget them with great ease. Anyhow, you know for certain that I must feel a keen interest in your welfare, from the manner in which I have taken up the question of the future of the

Colleges, and from other opportunities that I have enjoyed during the past four years of showing a warm and sincere concern. If I could leave India feeling that I had really done something to place these institutions upon a more assured basis, to win the confidence of the fathers, and to spur the sense of duty of the sons, I should feel that I had not laboured entirely in vain.

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

BANQUET OF BENGAL CHAMBER OF
COMMERCE, CALCUTTA

ON February 12, 1903, the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce gave a banquet at the Town Hall, Calcutta, to commemorate the fiftieth Anniversary of the formation of the Chamber. The Viceroy was the guest of the evening, and Sir Montagu Turner, President of the Chamber, proposed his health. In reply he spoke as follows:—

Chambers of Commerce are very much to the fore nowadays. The second body that addressed me, after I had landed in Bombay more than four years ago, was a Chamber of Commerce. Among the first to address me in Calcutta was the Chamber by which I have now the honour of being entertained. On several occasions too, in the case of my predecessors, you have sped the parting as well as welcomed the incoming guest. I regard this form of contact, which is marked by absolute equality, and in which I have never known the smallest sacrifice of independence on either side, as a relation of mutual advantage. It is well for the entire mercantile community that its views should be expressed by a body of its most prominent members, and that a competent Committee should act as the mouthpiece

of the whole ; and it is also well for Government that a machinery should exist by which it can ascertain the views of the business world upon the many matters connected with business and trade with which it is called upon to deal. I have therefore never regarded Chambers of Commerce as a fortuitous concourse of individuals banded together for the exclusive object of protecting their own interests. They have always seemed to me to be an important factor in the body politic, constituted for the formation and representation of expert opinion upon mercantile subjects. I do not know whether it is these views that may have accounted for a saying that I saw repeated in some newspaper the other day, that I was supposed to be under the thumb of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. This was news to me, and I expect that it was equally news to you. I cannot remember the occasions on which you have behaved as the despotic master or I as the pliant victim ; nor am I quite sure that it tallies with the picture of myself as ordinarily drawn. However that may be, sir, the charge of being under your thumb has, I am glad to say, not prevented me from being present at your table ; and I hope it does not disable me from thanking you for the courteous and complimentary terms in which you have proposed my health, or this large and representative company for the manner in which they have received it.

There are many subjects upon which I should like, before an audience such as this, to say something this evening. You, sir, have told us something in your speech about the trade of Calcutta and the port of Calcutta. May I, in my fifth season of residence in Calcutta, dare to say something about the city itself? Of course I know that my view can only be a partial one, for I am never here to see Calcutta when I fancy that she is at her best, namely, when she is enjoying the cool luxury of the monsoon, and when the members of the Chamber of Commerce only suppress their superfluous vitality by riding races on the Maidan. But, subject to that disqualification, I may claim that I am a true and devoted citizen of Calcutta. The interest and fascination of this great city have grown upon me with each advancing year. To me Calcutta is the capital, not merely

of a province, great as that province is, but of the Indian Empire. As such, it appears to me fitly to symbolise the work that the English have done, and are doing, in this country. For though, of the enormous population of over 1,100,000 souls that make up the city on both banks of the river, not much more than 30,000 are returned as Europeans and Eurasians, yet a glance at the buildings of the town, at the river and the roar and the smoke, is sufficient to show that Calcutta is in reality a European city set down on Asiatic soil, and that it is a monument—in my opinion one of the most striking extant monuments, for it is the second city to London in the entire British Empire—to the energy and the achievements of our race. Had Job Charnock not planted his humble tenement on the banks of the Hugli close to this spot more than two centuries ago, and persisted there in the face of every discouragement and hardship, and had not other Englishmen—I beg to say that I do not exclude Scotchmen and Irishmen—equally bold and courageous come after him, there might never have been a great capital here at all. Now Calcutta has grown to mature stature, and every visitor from the old country, every foreigner from afar, comes to see what she is like. They see the river with its crowded shipping, the quays with the jostle and clamour of their busy life, the Howrah bridge, so useful and so inadequate, the jute mills and cotton mills drawing their sooty finger-marks across the sky, the Government buildings and the law courts, where we dispense an administration and a justice whose rapidity is perhaps not quite in equal proportion to its virtue, the business houses, where the old men do not see visions—because I am told there are no old men to see them—and the young men are too occupied to dream dreams, the teeming native quarters, packed with a dense population, drawn hither for security, employment, or trade; and, finally, the glorious and health-giving expanse of the Maidan—they see all these things, and I doubt if there is a man among them who does not feel that here is the settlement of an imperial race, and the fitting habitation of a world-wide rule. I do not know whether most to be grateful for the advantages of the geographical position that

Calcutta enjoys, or to admire the intrepidity and enterprise which has turned them to such advantage. It is more than fifteen years since first I visited this place, and even within that time the change is amazing. It is going on every day before our eyes. Great buildings are springing up, new shops are being opened, the suburbs stretch out further and further into the country, the river is no longer a physical boundary to Calcutta, but is a link connecting its two sections ; and I see no limit to the destinies which, but for some sudden and not to be expected convulsion of nature, will await you in the future. In my own small way I have tried to contribute to the historic interest and to the external beauties of this city. My view is well known that no place and no country can afford to be so absorbed in the pursuit of its future as to forget its past. But in remembering the past I have also had one eye fixed on the present, and another on the future. The restored Holwell Monument and the commemoration by tablets and brass lines of Old Fort William will keep alive certain records and memories that should never die. The Imperial Library will, I hope, prove a genuine and permanent boon. I have bought, as you know, and renovated the old country-house of Warren Hastings at Alipore as a State Guest-House, where the Viceroy may return the abundant hospitality of the Indian Chiefs ; and I wish you would drive out there some afternoon, when the house is not occupied, and see what an addition it is to the sights of Calcutta. Next year I hope to have completed the handsome building of the new Foreign and Military Departments facing the Maidan in Esplanade Row. In a few years' time there will rise the snow-white fabric of the Victoria Memorial Hall, surrounded by a spacious garden, between the Lawrence Statue and the Fort,¹ and I have other ideas about the beautification of this

¹ This allusion, though it only repeated an announcement that had appeared in the Calcutta Press without exciting any unfavourable comment nearly a year before, led to an agitation in favour of transferring the hall from the site here named, which had been unanimously approved of by the Building Committee, to another site at the southern end of the Maidan. So great were the apprehensions entertained of any encroachment upon the open space of the Maidan that the trustees of the Victoria Memorial decided to defer to this expression of opinion, and selected the site, upon which the hall is now being built, in the neighbourhood of the Cathedral.

part of Calcutta which are gradually taking shape, and which, I hope, will be realised before I go.¹ Some of you may have noticed the great improvement that has taken place in the heart of the business quarter of Calcutta which is bounded by Writers' Buildings on the north, Old Court House Street on the east, and the river on the west. Ever since I have been here I have thought that the appearance of this quarter of the town was a disgrace to the city. The roads were shocking, the footpaths uneven, the lighting defective, the conservancy bad. The Government of India therefore said that, if the Corporation would undertake to bring up this part of the town to a satisfactory standard in all these respects, we would assume one half of the initial charge, and would contribute Rs.5000 a year towards the upkeep. These terms were accepted, and you may see the results. I do not know whether the change that has been made is approved or disapproved by public opinion, but I do know that it has made quite a different place of the heart of the city ; and it has set a standard which cannot fail to spread and gradually to affect the whole of the surrounding area. But there is one superficial feature of Calcutta that has greatly distressed me. It is a tribute to your enterprise ; and I doubt not that it also ministers to your wealth. But it is neither necessary, nor beautiful, nor even sanitary. I allude to the Calcutta smoke, which sometimes almost makes one forget that this is an Asiatic capital, which besmirches the midday sky with its vulgar tar brush and turns our sunsets into a murky gloom. I am reluctant to see Calcutta, which has risen like a flame, perish in soot and smoke ; and I may inform you than we have an expert from England, even now on the seas, coming out here to advise us as to how we may combat this insidious and growing danger. I hope, when I comes, that all those who are concerned in the enterprises that result in such excellent financial dividends at the expense of so much fuliginous deposit will join hands with

¹ The allusion was to the laying out and embellishment of the corner of the Maidan between Esplanade Row East and the Ochterlony Monument, and to the entire renovation and replanting of Dalhousie Square. Both of these plans, which were very dear to Lord Curzon's heart, were carried out during his last year in India.

us in the attempt to curtail a mischief which, if unarrested, I do not hesitate to say, will before long destroy one half of the amenities of Calcutta, and will permanently injure its incomparable beauty and charm.¹

But you will tell me that there are other and larger problems attending the future of Calcutta than are indicated by monuments and chimneys and gardens. I agree with you. There is the vast and unsettled problem of the interior of this city, the congested areas that skulk behind a fringe of palaces, the huge and palpitating slums. What are we going to do for them? How are we going to provide the Calcutta of the future with the streets that she needs, the air and open spaces that she needs, the improved and sanitary dwellings? This is the greatest problem of all. Do not imagine for a moment that we have overlooked it. For three years the correspondence with the local Government and the Government at home has been going on. It has not been an easy matter to settle; for great plans and large sums of money have been involved. We have had to discuss the resources of the city, the credit of the Corporation, the interest of the local Government, and the responsibility of the supreme administration. We have had to produce a scheme that would be beneficial and adequate from the public point of view, financially sound, and equitable in its distribution of the necessary burdens. It was as far back as June last that we sent our project home to the Secretary of State. I may say at once that the Government of India did not fail to realise their interest in so great an undertaking, for we offered to make a grant of 50 lakhs from the Imperial revenues and to guarantee the loan that will require to be raised by the Corporation. I am not sure that the Secretary of State does not think that the Government is ready to give too much, and that the local tax-payer is called upon to contribute too little. Anyhow he has sent the scheme back to us, and has instructed us to revise it in consultation with the local bodies, such as the Corporation, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Trades Association, who

¹ As a result of the visit of Mr. F. Grover, the expert referred to, and of his Report, a Bill conferring extensive powers on the local Government was introduced and passed in the Bengal Legislative Council in 1905.

are most concerned. In a few days, therefore, you will have the full plan before you. I am not without hopes that a remodelled scheme may be devised which will satisfy the Secretary of State's requirements: and if that be so, then, before any long time has elapsed, we shall proceed with the great project for bringing the interior of Calcutta up to the level of its exterior, and for making this great capital truly worthy of its name.¹

Sometimes when I contemplate the possibilities, the enormous possibilities, of this place, I almost feel—you may regard it as a strange ambition—as if when I laid down the post of Viceroy I should like to become Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation. Those who talk about Municipal Government in Calcutta as having received its death-knell, because an overswollen body of seventy-five was turned into a compact and businesslike body of fifty,² may not understand this feeling. But those who look at facts, and who realise that a body has been constituted infinitely better fitted for its work, and demanding not the slurs or the sneers, but the hearty encouragement and support of all patriotic citizens, they will perhaps follow my meaning. I cannot imagine a higher duty or a more beneficent aim. Perhaps if I were Chairman, I should exact rather large conditions. I should require ten years of office, sufficient cash, and a free hand. Give me those commodities, and I would undertake to make this city the pride of Asia, and a model for the Eastern World. I would open out all your crowded quarters and slums. I would have electricity as the universal illuminant. I would have a splendid service of river steam-boats and ferries—for it is astonishing to me how little use is made of the river by the ordinary residents of Calcutta. I would have all the quarters of the town connected by a service of suburban railways or electric trams. Already I see that positive advances are being made in this direction, and that

¹ An enlarged scheme, providing for a total expenditure of 8½ crores or 5½ millions sterling was approved by the Secretary of State, and made public in the summer of 1905.

² The allusion is to the Calcutta Municipal Reform Act of 1899, by which, *inter alia*, the number of the Corporation was reduced from 75 to 50—one half of whom, however, continued to be elected by the popular vote. This measure was invariably described by the Congress party as the destruction of local Self-Government in Calcutta!

the reformed Corporation is setting itself, under the able Chairmanship of Mr. Greer, to justify those who called it into being. I rejoice, sir, that gentlemen like yourself are willing to devote their gratuitous energies and abilities to the task. I regard such service as the highest form of civic duty, and I commend the example to all those who are interested, as I am, and can never fail to be, in the fortunes of Calcutta. Long after I have gone I shall study the records of your proceedings, and shall never cease to regard it as a pride that for a number of the hardest working years of my life I was as a citizen and a son of this great and imperial city.

And now, will you bear with me while I turn to an examination for a few minutes of those subjects with which you are most concerned, and with which I have endeavoured to acquire such familiarity as is possible in the midst of a life of many duties? I allude to the economic position and future of India, and to the part in it that is played or ought to be played by Government. Perhaps I may state my own credentials, modest as they are. My view of every question is that the way to deal with it is to understand it, and the way to understand is to dig down to the bed-rock of concrete fact and experience, or, as it may otherwise be put, to hear with one's own ears and to see with one's own eyes. People sometimes talk and write of a Viceroy's tours as though they were a ceremonial procession attended by little but pomp and show. I should like to take some of these arm-chair critics with me and to make the condition that they should never leave my side during a tour of six weeks or two months. I expect that after a week or two of being out from eight in the morning till sundown, inspecting, questioning, noting, addressing others, being addressed by them, everywhere probing, probing, probing for the truth, the critic would be ready enough to slink back to his arm-chair and to resume the irresponsible cultivation of the pen. I cannot recall much fuss or pomp when I visited the oil-wells of Assam and Burma, the coal-mines of Umaria, Jherria, and Makum, the gold-mines of Kolar, the tea plantations and rubber plantations, the cotton mills and factories and workshops that I have now seen in so many parts of India. All

I know is that, when I have visited these scenes of industrial enterprise, I have met with nothing but kindness from the proprietors or managers of these undertakings, and with an earnest desire to acquaint me with the facts ; and I speak nothing but the truth when I say that any right that I may have acquired to deal with such matters has been in the main derived from these experiences, and that they have enormously stimulated my interest in the industrial and economic side of the national existence. I need not repeat here what I have said on previous occasions as to my belief in the economic future of this country. We have a continent of immense and as yet almost unexplored natural resources, existing under a settled Government, and inhabited by an industrious and orderly population. Though the vast majority of them have been trained to agriculture, are only physically fitted for agriculture, and will never practise anything but agriculture, yet in many parts of the country there is a substantial residuum, well qualified by intelligence and bodily aptitude for a life of mechanical or industrial toil. And yet it cannot be denied that in many respects we are still backward, and that we are only at the beginning of the race. I have often set myself to ponder over the causes that have hitherto retarded our development, and that make it to some eyes appear so slow ; and I should like to say what I think they are.

It is a truism that there can be no economic or industrial development without capital, and it is round the attraction of capital to India that the whole question turns. Now there are two kinds of capital in this country, foreign and native, and I have a word or two to say about each. In the first place, let us realise what is borne in upon me every day —that there is a good deal of ignorance in England about India. If this ignorance affects Parliament, and sometimes causes extraordinary questions to be put by well-meaning persons, equally does it affect the business world. Our securities, our fields for investment, our openings for enterprise, are in many cases both unsuspected and unknown. Capital has not learned to flow hither. It has been diverted into other channels. Many of our securities do not find a place in the London stock market ; they are not even

accessible here. I sometimes think that those who have got their nose into the Indian manger, and have found out what good grain is to be found there, are also a little jealous about disseminating the information or sharing the spoils. Perhaps this is not surprising, for commerce is not, after all, a very altruistic pursuit. However that may be, I believe that this condition of affairs is drawing to an end, and my reason for thinking so is that the other channels of investment, outside of India, are gradually being filled up, not merely by British capital, but by the capital of all the wealth-producing countries of the world ; and, if this be so, then a time must soon come when the current of British capital, extruded from the banks between which it has long been content to meander, will want to pour over into fresh channels, and will, by the law of economic gravitation, find its way to India, to which it should be additionally attracted by the security of British institutions and British laws.

Then there is another factor that has long retarded the movement in this direction, that is the uncertainty and want of confidence in our currency, the acrobatic and disconcerting movements of our old friend the rupee. We have been busy for more than three years in curtailing the agility and in repressing the freaks of that dangerous mountebank ; and I really begin to think that we have reduced him to proper subjection, and made him a fit subject for complimentary reference even at the table of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. I feel tempted to say with some confidence that we have given to India that which is the first condition of economic and industrial advance, namely, a currency possessing fixity of value and steadiness of exchange. I do not say that this policy has everywhere been attended with equal benefit, or that there are not some industries that did not profit, or appear to profit, more by a steadily declining rupee. But I do say that, whether you regard the credit of the Government, the trade of the country, the public growth of confidence, or even the material test of individual gains, our currency policy, based upon the gold standard, has justified itself, and is continuing to justify itself, all along the line. I may put it in two ways. Memories of financiers and business men are almost as short as those of politicians.

I cannot put it higher, or shall I say lower? And yet is there one among you that can forget the cries of anguish that used to echo from every counting-house in India, and the daily expletives of the press, in the old days before 1898? I was not in India at that time, but I used to study the Indian papers; and I remember well that while every one had his own remedy—a characteristic of financiers as well as of politicians—all were agreed that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark, and that the condition of the currency, with its consequent reaction on business and trade, was deplorably and almost irredeemably bad. But now all these memories have passed away like a hideous nightmare, and are forgotten as swiftly as we forget the dentist's chair the moment that we have escaped from its terrifying clutches. Then the other way in which I would put it is this. Supposing the Government were now to announce its intention to go back again, to abolish the gold standard, to reopen the Mints to the free coinage of silver, and to allow the rupee to resume its ancient tricks, would you invite the head of that Government to a dinner at this hospitable board? Would you toast him in the language of compliment? Is there a Chamber of Commerce in this country that would not buckle on its armour and sharpen its sword for the fray? Is there a Secretary to a Chamber that would not at once sit down and begin to indite one of those formidable letters to Government that bring home to us in such moving terms the extremity of our ignorance, the gravity of our offences, and the superior wisdom of our critics? No, I believe that our currency policy has the confidence of the country. I grant that it must be watched, that it must be fortified by every conceivable security, like the Gold Reserve Fund, so wisely conceived by my financial colleague, Sir Edward Law. But I believe that it is safely started, and I look to its successful continuance to attract to India the confidence and the capital that are required for our future.

But, sir, there is one obstacle to the progress I am preaching which you will tell me that I have forgotten, that is the Government of India itself. I saw the other day that one of our cold weather visitors to India, before he had

thawed under the genial influences of the Delhi Durbar, ventured upon the polite remark that the Government of India stinks in the nostrils of the city world in London. Poor, unpopular, and odiferous Government of India! I have been wondering if there is anything that I could say or do to render ourselves more fragrant, if there is any sort of scented handkerchief that I could offer to the gentleman possessed of these delicate organs. First let me make an admission. I think that there is something, or at any rate has been something, in the charge. Capitalists and promoters are persons who want to do their business quickly, to get a swift and, if possible, a substantial return. They do not always quite realise the difficulties of a complex and many-headed administration like ours. The Government of India, though the supreme, is not an autocratic power in India; and outside of India we are not the supreme power at all. In this country there are numerous departments to be consulted, there are local Governments, there are often native States and Durbars. We ourselves are commonly ill-equipped with expert advice. Then when the ground has been cleared here, we have to go home to the India Office, and sometimes the whole thing begins again. These are some of our difficulties, inevitable and very hard to overcome. The alert business man no doubt thinks that we are haggling with insufficient cause, and he attributes the delay to an inherent and malignant passion for obstruction. I will not retaliate upon him by saying, as I might, that he very frequently changes his own ground, and, when we are getting to a direct issue, fails to come up to time at all, or that he sometimes thinks himself at liberty to treat a Government in a manner that he would not presume to apply to any private firm or institution in the world. I say I will not reply in this spirit, because I do not want to indulge in any sort of *tu quoque* argument. I would rather admit that our procedure is sometimes very slow and ponderous; and I would prefer in any case that is brought before me to do what I can to accelerate its pace. You have yourself, sir, generously acknowledged in your speech that delay finds no place in the present policy of the Government of India. That I can assure this company is no more than the truth. I speak for

the whole of my colleagues when I say that no effort has been wanting, or will be wanting, on our part to purge the administration from the reproach of dilatoriness or indifference to the commercial development of the country, if such reproach is still thought to appertain to it. There is no object that is more constantly in our minds than the desire to deal both with promptitude and sympathy with every reasonable mercantile or industrial claim.

But there are two obstacles to the expansion of which I have been speaking that I have yet to name. I hinted at the first just now. It is the inadequacy of our trained staff. After an experience of four years in this country, I do not hesitate to say that we are trying to run this Empire with a staff that would be considered inadequate in a second-class European kingdom. We came here as traders, we developed into conquerors, and long since we were turned into administrators. But now the Government of India are expected to be much more. We are required to be up-to-date and to know everything about agriculture, commerce, emigration, labour, shipping, customs, the application of science to every form of production, the secrets of coal, iron, steel, salt, oil, tea, cotton, indigo, and jute. The fact is that we have not yet expanded to the needs of the new situation. You cannot in a moment take a race of specially trained administrators and expect them to develop the capacities of the merchant. Gradually, but surely, we shall make things right. I am the last man to propose the multiplication of posts or the creation of sinecures. But it is clear to me that we must systematise and specialise our work far more than we have hitherto done. We must have special departments and special men over them to deal with special jobs, instead of allowing technical subjects to be dealt with at the end of a day's work by a tired-out civilian. Already in my time we have done a good deal in this respect. We have placed Education and Archaeology under expert heads. We have brought out mining experts to inspect our mines. We have imported a Government architect to purify our egregious taste. We have created a Department of Agriculture with an Inspector-General at its head, and we now propose, with the aid of the munific-

donation that I recently received from a wealthy American gentleman, Mr. Phipps, to unify in one place all the various departments of scientific investigation in connection with agriculture.¹

I have long had my eye on railways, and it has always been my hope, before I leave India, to do something to introduce a more commercial and a less purely departmental element into their administration, though I might be speaking here at midnight were I to embark upon that discussion now. Finally, there is the proposal about which we have been in consultation with your Chamber, namely, the creation of the Commercial Bureau. I saw somewhere or the other that I was expected to make a pronouncement on the subject to-night. I am sorry to say that that is not in my power; for the case is now with the Secretary of State, who has not yet replied, but whose acceptance of the general principle of the scheme may, I think, be taken for certain. But, sir, there is one thing to my mind even more important than the scheme itself, and that is the man who is to be its head. You will add very materially to the services that you have already rendered both to the commercial world and to Government, and which have so recently met with a most popular recognition in the title that you now wear, if you can enable me to put my finger on the man. I want the very best individual in India for the job; and I have no prejudices whatever as to the source from which I take him.²

I said a little while back that there was another obstacle to rapid progress with which I yet had to deal.

¹ This was the first explicit announcement by an Indian Viceroy of that which has been for years the main shortcoming of the Indian Government, and was also one of the principal reforms of Lord Curzon's Administration. In addition to the expert appointments here named, the following were also created during his term of office: Chief Inspector of Mines, Inspector-General of Volunteers, Government Architect, Imperial Librarian, Government Electrical Adviser, Director of Criminal Intelligence Department, Sanitary Commissioner, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence, Director of Central Research Institute, Inspector-General of Irrigation. These appointments were necessitated to meet the rapidly expanding needs of the Administration, and it is certain that as time passes more must follow.

² The scheme for a Commercial Bureau was ultimately expanded into the proposal for a new Department of Commerce and Industry, which was accepted by the Secretary of State and carried into effect in 1904-5, after the necessary Bill had been passed by the House of Commons.

It is connected with the subject of native capital, to which I also promised to refer. The other day I was preaching to a very different audience at Delhi from the text that, if Indian art is to be regenerated, it must be by Indian patronage. I think I might deliver a sermon from a similar text here, and might plead to the natives of India that, if the industrial and economic development of this country is to proceed at the pace that they with us desire, it can only be by the employment of Indian capital for the purpose. I have seen calculations to the effect that the hoarded wealth of this country amounts to over 825 crores of rupees. Whether these figures are correct or not, they represent an approximation to the truth. Think of all this money lying idle, or at most put out to usury and to relatively unproductive forms of investment. It makes one almost shudder to think of the opportunities lost. But what astonishes me still more is that those who hoard this wealth, who tie up their talents in a napkin and bury them under ground, are never so vocal as when they are denouncing the introduction of English capital into India to fill the gap which their own timidity or indifference has left open. To me the argument that the influx of foreign capital into India is a source of impoverishment, and that it drains away the wealth of the country, has always seemed to be a foolish and a dangerous illusion: foolish, because it ignores the rudiments of economic science; dangerous, because it is calculated to retard the development which it affects to have in view. Even assuming it to be true, then why do not those who plead for the use of native capital employ it? There is not an Englishman in this country who would not welcome the help. It is with positive delight that I witness the efforts of the small group of enlightened Indians, who have risen superior to the out-of-date alarms of their countrymen, and who in Bombay, in Nagpur, in other places, and to some extent in Calcutta and Bengal, are devoting their wealth to the regeneration of their own country, and, instead of girding at the English for having got the start, or talking copy-book fallacies about the economic drain, are endeavouring to keep the interest of capital in the country by providing and securing

the capital itself. When I hear the employment of British capital in India deplored, I feel tempted to ask where without it would have been Calcutta? Where would have been Bombay? Where would have been our railways, our shipping, our river navigation, our immense and prosperous trade? And why should a different argument be applied to India from any other country in the world? When Great Britain poured her wealth into South America and China, I have never heard those countries complain that they were being ruined. No one pities Egypt when a foreign nation resuscitates her industries and dams the Nile. It was foreign capital and foreign brains that exploited the industries of Russia, which are now beginning to be a source of such profit to that country. When America floods England, as she is doing, with the resources of her accumulated capital, her amazing inventiveness, and her commercial genius, none of us at home sits down and bewails our cruel lot at being bled by a foreign drain. I therefore would say to the people of this country—if my words could have the slightest effect—Look facts in the face. Recognise that capital does not wrap itself in the flag of any one country. It is international. It is like the wind which bloweth where it listeth, and comes and goes as it will. The whole industrial and mercantile world is one great field for the tiller to till; and if the man who lives on the spot will not cultivate it with his own spade, then he has no right to blame the outsider who enters it with his plough. Of course the country is in the strongest position whose capital is self-generated and self-employed; and it is for this reason that I say that the first duty of the patriotic Indian, instead of carping at those who have profited by his neglect, is to enter the field, though late in the day, himself, and to utilise the wealth that he has inherited or acquired for the benefit and the development of his own people.

I have detained you a very long time, and I may now bring these over-lengthy remarks to a close. You have said, sir, that it is my endeavour to see things through. Yes, I confess that I like the *res gesta*, the thing done. While others are preaching efficiency, I think more highly

of the man who practises it. I have never claimed the merit of the first discovery in anything that I have attempted in this country. Wiser brains have started the ideas long ago. More prudent hands have sped them on their way. But at least let me drive the machine a few laps forward in my time.

Not in vain the distance beacons,
 Forward, forward let us range.
 Let the great world spin for ever
 Down the ringing grooves of change.

If I thought it were all for nothing, and that you and I, Englishmen and Scotchmen and Irishmen in this country, were simply writing inscriptions on the sand to be washed out by the next tide, if I felt that we were not working here for the good of India in obedience to a higher law and to a nobler aim, then I would see the link that holds England and India together severed without a sigh. But it is because I believe in the future of this country, and in the capacity of our own race to guide it to goals that it has never hitherto attained, that I keep courage and press forward. You and I may not live to see the day when these hopes are fulfilled. But fifty years hence, when the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is celebrating its centenary, and when a still more powerful and more numerous body entertains the Viceroy of that day at an even larger banquet in a more commodious hall, I am sanguine enough to believe that it will be in his power to point to the realisation of some at least of the predictions in which I have indulged this evening, and to congratulate your successors upon the ever-expanding range of your influence and the fruition of your toil.

FAREWELL ADDRESS FROM BOMBAY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

On November 8, 1905, the Viceroy made the following speech, summing up the financial and commercial position in India at the close of his Viceroyalty in reply to a Farewell Address from the Bombay Chamber of Commerce :—

It is impossible for me to receive the Address which you have just read without recognising that it is no ordinary or

perfunctory document, but that it constitutes one of the most remarkable tributes emanating from an exceedingly representative body of public men, engaged in almost every walk of business, and representing one of the great commercial communities of the British Empire, that can ever have been offered to a departing Governor-General. When you say of that Governor-General that during his term of office the barrier that seemed some years ago to divide Government from commerce has been completely broken down, and that his administration will be long remembered for the active interest that he has taken in all that concerns internal affairs, and for the confidence that he has inspired in every branch of commercial life—while I cannot feel that I deserve these generous words, I yet should be made of dull clay if I were not proud to receive them. For I am conscious that in India commerce has not always opened its arms in this way to Government or the representatives of Government, while I am also aware that the sentiments which you express reflect a revulsion of feeling that is not confined to Bombay, but has spread from one end of India to another, inaugurating a happier era in which the development of this great country is regarded as the combined work and the equal duty of all those, official or unofficial, whose lot is cast within its borders.

I propose to respond to your confidence by a few remarks upon the present commercial position of India, suggested by what you yourselves have said, and summarising in a convenient form the situation as it now appears to me to be. The first condition of sound finance, and the first aim of our financial administration in India, has been the foundation of a sound monetary system. Here I profited by the wisdom of my predecessors in closing the Mints as far back as 1893, and by the advice of the London Committee that sat and reported during my first year of office. We were able in consequence to introduce the gold standard, and we have ever since maintained a stable exchange. But currency reform, however urgent in itself, was only the condition of wider improvements and larger aims, and the moment we had obtained it, it ceased to be an end in itself, and became the means by which the economic and industrial progress of the country might be pursued upon a score of parallel lines.

Each of these lines might with equal truth be regarded as part of a great scheme of financial reorganisation or of economic development or of efficient administration. Thus we directed ourselves, among other objects, to a scheme of greatly accelerated Railway construction, believing that there is no more provident employment of public funds. The highest total mileage hitherto recorded in any Viceroyalty has been 3928 ; in mine we have laid 6110 miles, bringing up the total mileage in India to 28,150, and I believe and hope that these figures will be exceeded by my successors. The highest capital outlay in any previous Viceroyalty has been $47\frac{1}{4}$ crores ; we have expended nearly 60 crores, bringing up the total capital sunk in Indian railways to 240 millions sterling. There has never before been a railway surplus ; the aggregate railway surpluses of the past six years have amounted to $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. One of the most pressing and severely felt of difficulties in Indian railways has for long been the deficiency of rolling stock. Exclusive of large orders now under construction we have provided an increase of 28 per cent in engines, 21 per cent in passenger cars, and 33 per cent in goods waggons. We have placed before the Secretary of State a railway expenditure programme for the next three years, under the Triennial Programme scheme which, as you know, is one of our achieved reforms, of no less than 15 crores in each year, or a total of 30 millions sterling. These results and these prospects, for which I must not be understood to claim the smallest personal credit, for had any one else been standing in my place, he would have been able to say the same, are I think of a thoroughly satisfactory nature. They show genuine progress made, and they are full of promise for the future. The net income of our railways has indeed been growing three times as fast as the interest on our capital liabilities. The railway property of the Government of India is in my view a magnificent asset, as fine as any in the world ; and we may safely banish the nervous fears that have sometimes inspired the responsible authorities as to the risks of borrowing more freely for railway extension. Take our 4 crores' loan of the past summer, raised in this country mainly for these purposes. It was covered nearly

five times over, and we could have raised nearly 5 crores on almost the same terms as we raised four. I hope that this experience will encourage the Government of India to a bolder policy in the future. When we had to pay a high price for our loans, when the Indian money market did not exhibit its present elasticity, and when our railways were themselves not a paying concern, there was a good excuse for timidity. But I think that a policy of greater confidence and courage is now required, and I have endeavoured to inaugurate it. You have been good enough to allude to the considerable administrative reform which has accompanied this history of progress, and which will, I trust, be an efficient agency for guiding it, namely, the creation of the Railway Board. It would be absurd to pretend that this idea was mine or that of any one now in India. Years ago I remember reading all about it in Sir G. Chesney's admirable book, and from the day that I laid down charge of the Public Works Department in the summer of 1899, having held it a few months in order to obtain a grasp of the business, I was bent upon getting a Board, as the indispensable condition of business-like management and quick and intelligent control. It only remained to seize the psychological moment and to work out a plan adapted to our present needs.

I might draw a similarly rosy picture of the prospects of Irrigation and the outlay upon it. But I dealt with this subject in my Budget speech of March last, and will not repeat myself to-day.

Neither will I say anything about other features of our commercial and industrial policy, such as the imposition of countervailing duties on sugar, our pronouncement on preferential tariffs, our attitude towards local industries as instanced by the Tea Cess Act, the tea and indigo grants, and the encouragement to iron and steel works, our hitherto unsuccessful but still unabandoned attempts to readjust the machinery and to remove some of the restrictions of our existing banking system, our reform of the Customs Department, and creation of a single Imperial Customs Service, largely due to suggestions from Bombay, or even the creation of the new Commerce and Industry Department, which has already in so short a time been so gratifying a success, owing

no doubt very greatly to the fact that we came prowling down to Bombay and took some of your best men to assist us in starting the venture.

I will not say more of any of these topics, because they would encroach too much upon my limited space, but I should like to add a word upon two subjects, the policy of the Government of India about which you have noticed with special satisfaction.

The first of them is the reduction of Telegraphic charges. This is a matter to which I attach the very highest importance, and of which I can truthfully say that I have assumed personal charge sometimes in the face of no small difficulty. I believe in the reduction of cable rates to Europe, because a cheap tariff is the greatest instrument of Imperial unification that can be devised. It has been brought down from 4s. to 2s. a word in my time. But it must go lower still. If there were a cheap rate, say of 6d. a word—and of course press messages would be cheaper—between England and India, the almost indescribable ignorance that prevails in each country about the other, and which is often the despair of the friends of both, could no longer exist. I am not sure that the task of Government would be rendered easier—perhaps the reverse; but the relations of the two peoples—commercial, social, and sentimental—could not fail to become more intimate. On similar grounds I have been an earnest advocate of reduction of internal rates in India. Since the changes were made two years ago, there has been an increase of 30 per cent in private messages in India, while the stimulus given to press traffic may be shown by the fact that in a single year the total number of words jumped up from 7,680,000 to 14,000,000, or an increase of between 80 and 90 per cent. I believe in giving news to the people—some persons, I know, do not; and I sometimes rub my eyes and wonder where my imaginary reactionary tendencies, in this respect at any rate, are supposed to come in.

The other subject to which I referred was Agriculture, in the development of which you were good enough to say that I had taken the greatest interest. I was pleased to read in an Address from a Chamber of Commerce so frank a recognition of the momentous importance of this subject, because

in the last resort the welfare of the agricultural population is just as vital to you as it is to the Government of India. What have we been doing for agriculture? I do not speak for the moment about land revenue assessments or collections, or remissions, or *takavi* grants, or the many ways in which we have tried to make things easier for the Indian cultivator. Our real reform has been to endeavour for the first time to apply science on a large scale to the study and practice of Indian agriculture. It is quite true that the Indian peasant, perhaps the Guzerat peasant in particular, knows, as well as any peasant in the world, how to make the most of the soil and of the fruits of tillage. In his way he is a hereditary expert. But his greatest admirer cannot pretend that he knows anything of scientific discovery or experiment, while not even the most hidebound conservative can give any good reason why India should be the only agricultural country in the world to which the lessons of research are incapable of being applied. Anyhow we are doing our best to apply them; and one of my last acts, in pursuit of the special grant of 20 lakhs per annum to provincial agriculture which we gave for the first time this year, and are going to continue and possibly to increase, has been to address the Secretary of State and propose to him a great scheme for establishing in every province an agricultural college and research station, with a farm attached to it, where agriculture may be studied both in the laboratory and in the field. Each province will then have its own director of agriculture and its own expert staff; and in each distinctive agricultural tract there will be an experimental farm under a trained agriculturist. Everywhere the object will be the same, namely, to bring the staff in touch with the cultivator, so that knowledge may pass up and down between them. In this way we shall, I hope, provide a training for hundreds and thousands of the young men of the country. Indeed, we shall soon train our own experts, without having to import them; and we cannot fail to make discoveries and to introduce reforms that will quicken the entire future of Indian agriculture.

The sum total of my own experience in the last seven years is to send me away a convinced optimist as to the

economic and industrial prospects of this country. I suppose we shall never be free from the chantings of that dismal chorus who spend their time in lamenting the poverty and sufferings of India, without, so far as I can see, doing very much that is practical to remedy the evils of which they complain. Never let us shut our eyes to the poverty and the misery. But do not let us be so blind to the truth as not to see that there is an enormous improvement, that there is everywhere more money in the country, in circulation, in reserves, in investments, in deposits, and in the pockets of the people; that the wages of labour have risen, that the standards of living among the poorest have gone up, that they employ conveniences and even luxuries which a quarter of a century ago were undreamed of, thereby indicating an all-round increase of purchasing power, and that wherever taxation could be held to pinch we have reduced it, and may perhaps be able to do more. It is only fairness to acknowledge these facts, it is blind prejudice to ignore them. I can put the matter in a form which will appeal to you as business men by some figures which I have had prepared. I will not take the period of my own term of office, because the whole point of my argument is that the improvement dates from the closing of the Mints by Lord Lansdowne and Sir D. Barbour; and though it is in my time that the fruits have been mainly reaped, the seeds were sown by them. I will contrast, therefore, in each case the figures of 1893-4 and those of 1904-5. The capital sunk by Government in railways and irrigation works has increased by 56 per cent in that interval; that invested by joint-stock companies in industrial undertakings by 23 per cent. The Savings Banks deposits have gone up by 43 per cent, the private deposits in Presidency Banks by 71 per cent, the deposits in other joint-stock banks by 130 per cent, the deposits in Exchange Banks by 95 per cent, Government paper held in India by 29 per cent, the amount invested in Local Authorities' debentures by 90 per cent. The amount of income on which income tax is assessed—excluding at both periods the incomes now exempted—has increased by 29 per cent, the rupee circulation by 27 per cent, the note circulation in active use by 68 per cent. The net absorption of gold in the ten

years preceding the two dates of inquiry, namely, 1893-4 and 1904-5, shows an increase of 120 per cent in the later, of silver 136 per cent. The total value of Indian imports has gone up 35 per cent, of exports 48 per cent. The productive debt has increased in the same period by 69 crores, but the non-productive debt has decreased by 16 crores. Now these figures, which I have had specially prepared for you, are worth thinking over. From whatever point of view you regard them, bearing in mind that these considerable and in some cases amazing increases have occurred in a period in which the increase in the population has only been 4 per cent, it is impossible to deny their collective testimony to an advance in every test that can be applied to the progress of a nation, which is without example in the previous history of India, and rare in the history of any people. It is indeed a magnificent property that I am handing over to my successor, and may he faithfully and diligently guard it.

DELHI CORONATION DURBAR

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, SIMLA

At a meeting of the Legislative Council at Simla, September 5, 1902, the Viceroy delivered the following speech with regard to the Coronation Durbar which it was proposed to hold at Delhi on January 1, 1903 :—

I desire to take advantage of the present occasion to say a few words about the great function, or combination of functions, at Delhi, which will fill so large a part of our attention during the next few months, and which will bring together so immense, and probably unprecedented, a concourse of the Indian peoples at the old Moghul capital in January next. His Majesty the King has already been happily crowned in England ; and he is as much already our King and Emperor as he was the day after the death of the late Queen-Empress. No ceremony can increase his titles or add to the legality of his position. Why then, it may be asked, should we have in India a celebration of his Coronation at all ? Public opinion has, I think, already answered this question to its own satisfaction. But, perhaps, I may also be permitted to contribute a few words to the reply. To the East, there is nothing strange, but something familiar and even sacred, in the practice that brings sovereigns into communion with their people in a ceremony of public solemnity and rejoicing, after they have succeeded to their high estate. Every sovereign of India, or of parts of India, did it in the old days. Every chief in India—the illustration may even be carried as far as the titled noblemen and zemindars—does it now ; and the installation durbar is an accepted and acceptable feature of ceremonial life from one

end of the country to the other. If this is so in all the grades of our social hierarchy, how much more important and desirable it is that it should obtain in the highest. I find, for my part, in such a ceremony much more than a mere official recognition of the fact that one monarch has died and another succeeded. To millions of the people in their remote and contracted lives this can make but little difference. But the community of interest between a sovereign and his people—to which such a function testifies, and which it serves to keep alive—is most vital and most important. Society in all ages has sought a head to whom it has been prepared to pay reverence, and kingship is the popular form that has been assumed by this almost universal instinct. But it is in proportion as the superiority thus willingly acknowledged by the subject ceases to be merely official and titular, and as the King becomes the representative as well as the figure-head of his people, that the relationship is of value to both of them. The life and vigour of a nation are summed up before the world in the person of its sovereign. He symbolises its unity, and speaks for it in the gate. Here, in India, it is for the first time under the British Crown that this unity has been attained, and that the entire Continent has acknowledged a single ruler. The political force and the moral grandeur of the nation are indisputably increased by this form of cohesion, and both are raised in the estimation of the world by a demonstration of its reality. There is another point of view from which I regard such a display as having far more than a superficial value. In all our various divisions in this country—divisions of race and class and custom and creed—the one thing that holds us together, and subordinates the things that make for separation to the compelling force of union, is loyalty to a common head, membership of the same body politic, fellow-citizenship of the same Empire. The more we realise this, the happier will be our individual lives, and the more assured our national destinies. It is, therefore, as an act of supreme public solemnity, demonstrating to ourselves our union and to the world our strength, that I regard the Delhi ceremonial, and certainly as no mere pageant, intended to dazzle the senses for a few hours or

days and then to be forgotten. To my mind Lord Lytton, who was the first in British times to inaugurate such an Imperial Durbar as we propose to hold, though in different circumstances and on a smaller scale, set an example characterised both by statesmanship and imagination. I have not a doubt that much good flowed from the Imperial assemblage of January 1, 1877; and, under the blessing of Providence, I firmly believe that similar and even larger results will follow from the ceremony of January 1, 1903.

Of course the occasion would be made both more solemn and more historic if the King-Emperor were able to be present in person and could place the crown of all the Indias upon his own brow. Long ago, when we were first formulating our plans, I ventured to present this aspect of the case to His Majesty. The idea was most agreeable to him, and he would have greatly rejoiced to be able to carry it out. His love for this country has always been great, and I venture to affirm that he is as proud to be the first Emperor of all India as the late Queen Victoria was to be its first Empress. But the duties of State are too absorbing to permit His Majesty to be absent from England for so many weeks as would have been required, and he was compelled to desist from gratifying a wish that would otherwise have had for him the greatest attractions. In these circumstances, the news will be received with delight that His Majesty has deputed his brother, the Duke of Connaught, to represent the Royal Family at the approaching Durbar. The presence of the Duke and Duchess, who have already spent so many happy years in this country, and who are so universally loved by all classes of the people, will lend to our proceedings a distinction that they would otherwise have lacked, and will bring home more directly to all India the vivid personal interest of the Sovereign. We shall feel that the King is in a certain sense with us in the person of his brother, and that, as it was not in his power either to attend himself, or to depute the Heir-Apparent, whom we all hope to welcome at a later date, His Majesty has taken the best means of testifying to India his profound sympathy and regard.

There is another point of view from which I think that

such a gathering as that which will take place at Delhi will be of value. The weak spot of India is what I may call its water-tight compartment system. Each Province, each Native State, is more or less shut off by solid bulkheads even from its neighbour. The spread of railways and the relaxation of social restrictions are tending to break these down. But they are still very strong. Princes who live in the south have rarely, if ever, in their lives seen or visited the States of the north. Perhaps among the latter there are Chiefs who have rarely left their homes. It cannot but be a good thing that they should meet and get to know each other and exchange ideas; and yet no opportunity of meeting on a large scale is possible, unless it be afforded by a State occasion such as this. If we look at the Continent of Europe, we shall see what immense strides have been made in the development of common interests and in the cause of peace since the European rulers have taken to meeting each other on important occasions. Where they used, in the old days, to set their armies in motion upon the slightest breath of suspicion, they now have a talk and exchange toasts at official banquets. Greece did the same thing in ancient times, and in a way peculiar to herself; for it cannot be doubted that the national spirit, which held all those little States together and enabled them to stand up against the greatest military empires of the old world, was largely bred and nurtured at the Pan-Hellenic gatherings known as the Olympic Games.

Again, in this country I think that it is an equal benefit to the British administrators from different provinces to meet. There is many a man in Madras who has never seen the Punjab, or even in Bombay who is wholly ignorant of Bengal. The Viceroy is almost the only man in India who has the chance of knowing the whole country and of applying the comparative test. People are apt to complain of uniformity in government. I can assure them that the differentiations of system and plan in India are amazing. I am not the person to wish to blot them out; but I do say confidently that an occasion like the Delhi Durbar, when soldiers and civilians from all parts of India will meet, not for a few hours or a day, but for a fortnight, and can

compare notes and exchange ideas with each other, will be fraught with incalculable advantage both to the participants and to the administration which they serve.

These appear to me, apart from the act of homage to the Sovereign, to be the principal benefits that will accrue to India as a whole from the Durbar. I have, as is known, endeavoured still further to utilise the opportunity in a practical spirit by arranging for a great Exhibition of Indian Art Manufactures to be held at Delhi at the same time. I confidently assure the public that they will be greatly astonished at the range, the variety, and the beauty of this Exhibition. Whether it is true that the old Indian arts are being killed by European competition—a charge that is frequently brought by those who do not make the smallest effort to keep them alive themselves,—or whether they are perishing from this apathy, or whether India merely provides, as I suspect, an illustration of a world-wide law, the fact remains that the process of extinction has not been carried nearly so far as many suppose, and that the artificers still exist in India, even in these days of commercial ideals and debauched taste, who are capable of satisfying the demand for the artistic and beautiful and rare, if such a demand there be. I cannot pretend by a single exhibition to create it ; but if it already be in existence—as I cannot but think, though perhaps dormant and abashed,—then we may do a good deal by an opportunity such as this to revive and stimulate it ; for we shall, I hope, both advertise to the world what we are capable of turning out, and also—which is much more important—encourage the aptitudes and educate the taste of our own people.

And now I wish to say a few words about an even more practical aspect of the case, viz. the charge that will thereby be imposed upon the revenues of India. I have seen statements made about this subject that have startled even my hardened mind. It seems to be quite a popular thing to allege, in certain quarters, that the Durbar is going to cost India at least a crore ; while in one responsible organ I read that Lord Curzon was going to throw away upon senseless pomp and show a sum of two millions sterling. Of course, too, our old friend Nero, who is alleged to have fiddled while

Rome burned, has often been brought out for my special delectation. Personally, I deprecate the tendency to apply to every act of State, great or small, the sordid test of its actual equivalent in pice, and annas, and rupees. There are some things for which no expenditure can be too great, just as there are others for which none can be too small. But I quite recognise that these abstract considerations will not appeal to everybody, and that there are both seriousness and sincerity in the contention that, desirable and even necessary as the function may be, the public money should not be needlessly squandered upon it. This plea seems to me to be so reasonable that I propose to give to it the answer that it deserves.

It emanates, I think, from two classes of persons—from those who think that no money ought to be spent at Delhi at all while parts of India are suffering from drought or scarcity, and from those who are anxious that, while some money is spent, it should not be too much. I will deal with the first class first.

A few weeks ago it is true that we were in the greatest anxiety and trepidation as to what might be in store for us in Guzerat, in parts of the Deccan, in Ajmer, and in portions of the Central Provinces and the Punjab. But I can truthfully say that the past three weeks have been, on the whole, the happiest that I have spent since I came to India; for, by the merciful and continuous fall of rain in those tracts where it was most needed, we have, I believe, escaped all chance of real or widespread famine in the forthcoming winter, and though here and there we may be confronted with distress, yet nothing in the shape of a national calamity is to be feared. But even supposing that this rain had not fallen, or that I am all wrong in my prognostications now, does any one suppose for a moment that, because we are going to expend a certain number of lakhs of rupees at Delhi, one penny less would have been devoted to the relief and sustenance of the destitute in other parts of India? At the beginning of the famine of 1899, I gave the assurance on behalf of Government that not one rupee would be stinted or spared that could be devoted to the alleviation of distress and the saving of human life. That promise we

faithfully fulfilled ; and even if famine burst upon us now, or while the Durbar was proceeding, we should not take from the public purse a single anna that would otherwise be consecrated to the service of the poor. They have the first claim upon our consideration ; and that claim we should regard it as an obligation of honour to discharge.

Then there is the second class of critics, who recognise that the Durbar must cost something, but are apprehensive lest it should be run on too exorbitant a scale. I am old enough to remember that the same criticism was rife at the time of Lord Lytton's Assemblage in the autumn of 1876. Famine was at that time abroad in the land, and loud were the denunciations, both in the Indian Press and even in Parliament at home, of his alleged extravagance and folly. And yet I have seen calculations made by Lord Lytton which show that, when all recoveries had been made, the net cost to India of the Delhi Assemblage was only £50,000, and of the entire rejoicings throughout India, Delhi included, £100,000.

In one respect we are in a somewhat different position now. The Assemblage of 1877 was an almost exclusively official Assemblage. I have tried to gather, at the impending Durbar, representatives of all the leading classes of the community from every part of India. I want to make it a celebration, not of officials alone, but of the public. This means that we shall have at Delhi, in the forthcoming winter, larger camps, more guests, and, as a consequence, greater outlay than in 1877. Quite apart from our own arrangements, the improvement in communications and the social progress that have taken place in the last twenty-five years will bring together a much larger concourse of persons. Nearly every one would like to be present ; and the number who will actually be present will be very large. All these features will tend to increase the scale of the proceedings.

Notwithstanding these considerations, I desire to assure the public, who have a right to know, that the proposed arrangements are being run on strictly business-like and economical lines. I remember hearing Lord Salisbury, in a speech at the Guildhall before I left England, eulogise our future Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, for his ability

to run a campaign on commercial principles. I think that in respect of the Durbar we may lay a similar flatteringunction to our souls. The whole of the buildings and structures at Delhi that are being erected for the special purposes of the gathering are being made of materials that will retain their value after their preliminary use, and will be offered for public sale. In many cases recoveries of from 60 to 80 per cent of the initial outlay are thus expected. The tents, and carriages, and horses, which have had to be made or collected in such enormous numbers for the convenience of the visitors, will be similarly disposed of; and here in many cases I expect that we shall retrieve 100 per cent of the value. The entire electric plant for lighting the camps and the Fort is part of the machinery that has been ordered by the Military Department for instituting the great experiment of ventilating and lighting the barracks in India by electricity. Down to the smallest detail, we are so arranging that the money will not be thrown away, but in some form or other will come back. Then I take another form of recovery. As we all know, railways are, for the most part, Government property in this country; and whether we work them ourselves or through others the whole or a considerable proportion of the profits come into our hands. I think that the critics may be invited to pause and wait to see the traffic receipts of December, January, and February next before they continue their lamentations. I shall be very much surprised if these returns do not put back into the pocket of Government the major portion of what it has spent. There are also the postal and telegraphic services, the profits of which pass into the Government chest, and from which we shall receive largely increased returns. Finally, I would invite those who are so fearful of an unremunerative outlay to open their eyes to what is going on, and has been going on for months past, in all parts of India. I assert that hundreds of thousands of Indian workmen and artisans are receiving full employment and good wages in preparing for this Durbar. Go to the cotton mills of Cawnpore and Jubbulpore and Lahore, where the tents are made; to the factories, where the harness and saddlery are turned out; to the carriage builders, where the landaus and victorias

are being built by the hundred ; to the carpet factories, where the durries and rugs are being woven ; to the furniture makers, where the camp equipage is manufactured. Go to every Native State, where the *dursis* and embroiderers will be found working double time. Go to any town or even village in India where a native art industry exists, and has perhaps hitherto languished, but where you will find the coppersmiths and silversmiths, the carvers in wood and ivory and stone, the enamellers and painters and lacquerers, hard at work. Go to all these places, and then form an opinion as to the effect upon Indian labour of the Delhi Durbar. Supposing we were to follow the advice of some of our friends and to issue a proclamation suspending the entire proceedings to-morrow, I predict that a cry of protest and of appeal would be heard from one end of the country to the other, and that, without benefiting a single individual, we should deprive the Indian artisan of one of the greatest opportunities that he has enjoyed for generations, and inflict upon him a cruel and senseless injury.

I have thus argued that a large portion of the expenditure to be incurred at Delhi will be nominal only, and that we shall take back or give back to India with one hand what we expend with the other. Let me deal with the actual figures. In the Budget of last March we provided for an outlay of $26\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs upon the Durbar. This is the sum that, in the fertile imagination of some writers, has been magnified to 1 crore, and even to 2 millions sterling. I do not include in this outlay the sum of 4 lakhs which have been devoted to the Arts Exhibition, because I do not suppose that any one will be found to argue that that is an expenditure of public money upon the Coronation. The greater part of it will be recovered, and in any year, Coronation or otherwise, it would have been a prudent and remunerative expenditure of the public money. Neither do I take the $8\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs provided for the troops. For we should not, of course, have expended that sum in bringing so large a number of troops to Delhi for the Durbar alone. It is being expended, in the main, upon the great military manœuvres that are an inseparable feature of modern military training, and that will take place during the month preceding the

Durbar, in the same way as the manoeuvres held by Lord Dufferin in the same neighbourhood, independently either of Durbar or of Coronation, in the year 1886. There remain, then, the 26½ lakhs, supplemented by such local expenditure as may be imposed upon local Governments by their preparations ; and of the total sum, as I have pointed out, the greater part will most certainly be reimbursed. The actual net cost of the proceedings at Delhi it is of course impossible at this date to calculate or forecast, but I hope I have said enough to show that it will be almost immeasurably less than the dimensions which a too tropical imagination has allowed it to assume, and that a great State ceremonial will never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines.¹

I cannot help thinking that the sensitiveness about expenditure here, which I hope that I may have succeeded in allaying, has been to some extent fomented by the impression that prevailed, till a little while ago, that India might also be called upon to pay for a portion of the entertainment of the Indian visitors and military contingent who recently proceeded to England to take part in the Coronation festivities there. This was a subject upon which the Government of India placed themselves some time ago in communication with the Home Government ; and, as a sequel to this exchange of opinion, it was with pleasure that we heard that the Secretary of State had persuaded the Imperial Exchequer to assume the entire cost of all charges that had been incurred in England in connection with the Indian visitors. These include the entertainment of the Indian chiefs and representatives, and of the contingent representing the Army and Volunteers, as well as the entire cost of the India Office ceremony. The principle that each country should pay for its own guests is, in my opinion, incontestably right ; and it will, I hope, be accepted and acted upon in the future.

I have now said enough, I hope, to show that neither is Rome burning—on the contrary, I believe that she stands on the threshold of an era of great prosperity,—nor, most

¹ *Vide* p. 306. When the figures were finally made up in 1904 it was found that the total charge amounted to a little over £200,000.

certainly, is Nero fiddling. I do not indulge much in prophecy in India, and I cannot say what unforeseen vicissitudes, internal or external, may lie in store for us ; but, humanly speaking, we need not anticipate anything that is likely, during the few months that intervene between now and January next, to prevent us from joining in the Delhi gathering with clear consciences and joyous hearts. It only now remains for us to endeavour to make our celebration in India not less successful than that which has just been carried through in England. A good many eyes in a good many parts of the globe will be directed upon Delhi in January next ; and we shall have an opportunity, not merely of testifying the enthusiastic loyalty of India to the King-Emperor, in the presence of his brother, but also of demonstrating to the world that India is not sunk in torpor or stagnation, but is alive with an ever-expanding force and energy. That all India should approach these ceremonies with one heart and mind and voice is my most earnest prayer ; and that those who cannot take part in them at Delhi should hold similar rejoicings and be similarly entertained in the neighbourhood of their own homes, it is our hope and desire to arrange.

There is one small matter, personal to myself, which I may perhaps be allowed to mention before I conclude, because it also has a wider bearing. I have seen it assumed in many quarters that, as soon as the Durbar is over, and this anxiety has been removed, I am likely to resign my office and to flit away to England, in the pursuit of personal or political ambitions there. Indeed, I scarcely know how many times during the past two years similar stories have been flying about. Both the authors of these rumours and those who give credit to them do me an unconscious injustice in assuming that I could think of taking my hand off the plough before the end of the furrow is in sight. Not once since I have been in India has any such idea entered my mind. Barring contingencies which cannot be foreseen, I have no intention whatever of so acting. Much of the work to which my colleagues and myself have set our hands is still incomplete. So long as I receive from them an assistance which has never swerved or abated, and so long

as health and strength are given [to me to pursue the task, I should regard it as an abnegation of duty to lay it down. Whether the work be worth doing for the sake of the country, it is not for me to say. But I may be permitted to add that to me, at any rate, it appeals as the highest and most sacred of trusts.

THE DURBAR

At half-past twelve o'clock on Thursday, January 1, 1903, the Viceroy, by command of the King-Emperor, held a Durbar at Delhi for the purpose of proclaiming the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII. Emperor of India.

The number of spectators present in the arena was over 16,000, and included their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, and the Grand Duke of Hesse, all the officials of the highest rank in India, and the principal Ruling Chiefs, one hundred in number, with their retinues. It was the largest and most brilliant assemblage of the kind ever witnessed in India; and for the splendour of its surroundings, and the impressiveness which marked the proceedings throughout, it was unequalled in the history of similar ceremonies. The Durbar was held in a specially constructed amphitheatre three miles beyond the Ridge at Delhi, the route from the Viceroy's Camp to it being closely lined with troops. On the plain opposite to the entrance to the amphitheatre, whence they could be seen by the spectators, were drawn up over 40,000 troops; massed bands in the centre of the arena performed selections of music at intervals during the ceremony. After the herald had read the Proclamation announcing the Coronation of His Majesty the King Emperor of India, the Viceroy addressed the Durbar as follows:—

Your Royal Highnesses, Princes, and Peoples of India,— Five months ago in London His Majesty King Edward VII., King of England and Emperor of India, was invested with the crown and sceptre of the English kings. Only a few representatives of the Indian Empire had the good fortune to be present at that ceremony. To-day His Majesty has by his royal favour afforded an opportunity to all his Indian people to take part in similar rejoicings, and here, and elsewhere throughout India, are gathered together in honour of the event the Princes and Chiefs and nobles, who are the pillars of his throne; the European and Indian officials,

who conduct his administration with an integrity and devotion to duty beyond compare ; the Army, British and native, which with such pre-eminent bravery defends his frontiers and fights his wars ; and the vast body of the loyal inhabitants of India of all races, who, amid a thousand varieties of circumstance and feeling and custom, are united in their spontaneous allegiance to the Imperial Crown. It was with the special object of thus solemnising his Coronation in India that His Majesty commanded me, as his Viceroy, to convene this great Durbar, and it is to signify the supreme value that he attaches to the occasion that he has honoured us by deputing his own brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, to join in this celebration.

It is twenty-six years since, on the anniversary of this day, in this city of Imperial memories and traditions, and on this very spot, Queen Victoria was proclaimed the first Empress of India. That act was a vindication of her profound interest in her Indian subjects, and of the accomplished unity of her Indian dominions under the paramountcy of the British Crown. To-day, a quarter of a century later, that Empire is not less but more united. The Sovereign to whom we are met to render homage is not less dear to his Indian people, for they have seen his features and heard his voice. He has succeeded to a throne not only the most illustrious, but the most stable in the world ; and ill-informed would be the critic who would deny that not the least of the bases of its security—nay, I think a principal condition of its strength—is the possession of the Indian Empire, and the faithful attachment and service of His Majesty's Indian people. Rich in her ancient traditions, India is also rich in the loyalty which has been kindled anew in her by the West. Amid the crowd of noble suitors who, through all the centuries, have sought her hand, she has given it only to the one who has also gained her trust.

Nowhere else in the world would such a spectacle be possible as that which we witness here to-day. I do not speak of this great and imposing assemblage, unparalleled as I believe it to be. I refer to that which this gathering symbolises, and those to whose feelings it gives expression. Over 100 rulers of separate States, whose united population

amounts to 60,000,000 of people, and whose territories extend over 55 degrees of longitude, have come here to testify their allegiance to their common Sovereign. We greatly esteem the sentiments of loyalty that have brought them to Delhi from such great distances, and often at considerable sacrifice ; and I shall presently be honoured by receiving from their own lips their message of personal congratulation to the King. The officers and soldiers present are drawn from a force in India of nearly 230,000 men, whose pride it is that they are the King's army. The leaders of Indian society, official and unofficial, who are here, are the mouthpieces of a community of over 230,000,000 souls. In spirit therefore, and one may almost say, through their rulers and deputies, in person, there is represented in this arena nearly one-fifth of the entire human race. All are animated by a single feeling, and all bow before a single throne. And should it be asked how it is that any one sentiment can draw together these vast and scattered forces and make them one, the answer is that loyalty to the Sovereign is synonymous with confidence in the equity and benignity of his rule. It is not merely the expression of an emotion, but the record of an experience and the declaration of a belief. For to the majority of these millions the King's Government has given freedom from invasion and anarchy ; to others it has guaranteed their rights and privileges ; to others it opens ever-widening avenues of honourable employment ; to the masses it dispenses mercy in the hour of suffering ; and to all it endeavours to give equal justice, immunity from oppression, and the blessings of enlightenment and peace. To have won such a dominion is a great achievement. To hold it by fair and righteous dealing is a greater. To weld it by prudent statesmanship into a single and compact whole will be and is the greatest of all.

Such are the ideas and aims that are embodied in the summoning of this Coronation Durbar. It is now my duty to read to you the gracious message which His Majesty has desired me to convey to his Indian people :—

“ It gives me much pleasure to send a message of greeting to my Indian people, on the solemn occasion when they

are celebrating my Coronation. Only a small number of the Indian princes and representatives were able to be present at the Ceremony which took place in London ; and I accordingly instructed my Viceroy and Governor-General to hold a great Durbar at Delhi, in order to afford an opportunity to all the Indian Princes, Chiefs, and peoples, and to the officials of my Government, to commemorate this auspicious event. Ever since my visit to India in 1875 I have regarded that country and its peoples with deep affection ; and I am conscious of their earnest and loyal devotion to my House and Throne. During recent years many evidences of their attachment have reached me ; and my Indian troops have rendered conspicuous services in the wars and victories of my Empire.

“ I confidently hope that my beloved son, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, may before long be able to make themselves personally acquainted with India and the country which I have always desired that they should see, and which they are equally anxious to visit. Gladly would I have come to India upon this eventful occasion myself had this been found possible. I have, however, sent my dear brother, the Duke of Connaught, who is already so well known in India, in order that my Family may be represented at the Ceremony held to celebrate my Coronation.

“ My desire, since I succeeded to the Throne of my revered mother, the late Queen Victoria, the first Empress of India, has been to maintain unimpaired the same principles of humane and equitable administration which secured for her in so wonderful a degree the veneration and affection of her Indian subjects. To all my feudatories and subjects throughout India I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to

the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire and the greater happiness of its people."

Princes and peoples of India, these are the words of the Sovereign whose Coronation we are assembled to celebrate. They provide a stimulus and an inspiration to the officers who serve him, and they breathe the lessons of magnanimity and good-will to all. To those of us who, like my colleagues and myself, are the direct instruments of His Majesty's Government, they suggest the spirit that should guide our conduct and infuse our administration. Never was there a time when we were more desirous that that administration should be characterised by generosity and lenience. Those who have suffered much deserve much ; and those who have wrought well deserve well. The Princes of India have offered us their soldiers and their own swords in the recent campaigns of the Empire ; and in other struggles, such as those against drought and famine, they have conducted themselves with equal gallantry and credit. It is difficult to give to them more than they already enjoy, and impossible to add to a security whose inviolability is beyond dispute. Nevertheless, it has been a pleasure to us to propose that Government shall cease to exact any interest for a period of three years upon all loans that have been made or guaranteed by the Government of India to Native States in connection with the last famine ; and we hope that this benefaction may be acceptable to those to whom it is offered. Other and more numerous classes there are in this great country to whom we would gladly extend and to whom we hope before long to be in a position to announce relief. In the midst of a financial year it is not always expedient to make announcements, or easy to frame calculations. If, however, the present conditions continue, and if, as we have good reason to believe, we have entered upon a period of prosperity in Indian finance, then I trust that these early years of His Majesty's reign may not pass by without the Government of India being able to demonstrate their feelings of sympathy and regard for the Indian population by measures of financial relief, which their patient and loyal conduct in years of depression and distress renders it

especially gratifying to me to contemplate. I need not now refer to other acts of consideration or favour which we have associated with the present occasion, since they are recorded elsewhere. But it is my privilege to make the announcement to the officers of the Army that henceforward the name of the Indian Staff Corps will cease to exist, and that they will belong to the single and homogeneous Indian Army of the King.

Princes and peoples, if we turn our gaze for a moment to the future, a great development appears with little doubt to lie before this country. There is no Indian problem, be it of population or education or labour or subsistence, which is not in the power of statesmanship to solve. The solution of many is even now proceeding before our eyes. If the combined arms of Great Britain and India can secure continued peace upon our borders, if unity prevails within them, between Princes and people, between European and Indian, and between rulers and ruled, and if the seasons fail not in their bounty, then nothing can arrest the march of progress. The India of the future will, under Providence, not be an India of diminishing plenty, of empty prospect, or of justifiable discontent, but one of expanding industry, of awakened faculties, of increasing prosperity, and of more widely distributed comfort and wealth. I have faith in the conscience and the purpose of my own country, and I believe in the almost illimitable capacities of this. But under no other conditions can this future be realised than the unchallenged supremacy of the Paramount Power, and under no other controlling authority is this capable of being maintained than that of the British Crown.

And now I will bring these remarks to a close. It is my earnest hope that this great assemblage may long be remembered by the peoples of India as having brought them into contact at a moment of great solemnity with the personality and the sentiments of their Sovereign. I hope that its memories will be those of happiness and rejoicing, and that the reign of King Edward VII., so auspiciously begun, will live in the annals of India and in the hearts of its people. We pray that, under the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, his sovereignty and power

may last for long years, that the well-being of his subjects may grow from day to day, that the administration of his officers may be stamped with wisdom and virtue, and that the security and beneficence of his dominion may endure for ever.

Long live the King, Emperor of India !

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 25, 1903

These remarks lead me by a natural transition to say something about the Durbar itself. And first I must devote a few words to the cost. As I said in my speech in September last—though this is not the test which I would dream of applying myself as the final or crucial touchstone to a ceremony which I at any rate regard as having had a profound political significance, and an almost immeasurable political effect, yet I have no right to object to its being applied by others, and I realise that even symbolism presents itself to many minds in terms of rupees and pies. If, however, we apply this standard, then I do not hesitate to claim an absolute vindication for all that I said last autumn. I remarked then that of the $26\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs estimated for Imperial expenditure we should recover the greater part, and I added that a great State ceremonial would never have been conducted in India upon more economical lines. These prophecies were not universally accepted at the time, but they have turned out to be scrupulously correct. And indeed they overestimated, rather than understated, the actual outlay. The net charge against Imperial revenues for the entire Durbar works out at little more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or £84,000. If to this we add the expenses incurred by local Governments for their provincial camps, over which, from the circumstances of the case, the Government of India could exercise little control, and which amounted to a net total of a little over $14\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs or £99,000, we get a net charge, Imperial and provincial, of about £180,000 for the Durbar.¹ Is there any one who will tell me that this is

¹ When all the accounts had come in, this was raised, as has been said, to a little over £200,000.

an excessive charge upon a population of over 230 millions in British India, exclusive of the Native States, for celebrating the Coronation of their Sovereign? In Great Britain, with a population of 41 millions of people, they voted, I believe, £100,000 for a similar purpose, or a charge of less than $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per head of the people. They also spent £70,000 in entertaining the representatives who came from India to attend the ceremony. In India we have spent £180,000 with a population of nearly 300 millions in all, or about $\frac{1}{6}$ th of a penny per head of the entire community. Is this too heavy a price for the people to pay for the Coronation of their Emperor? Has a similar sum never been spent upon an Indian marriage or upon an Indian accession? Why, the sum is only about one-seventh part of the relief which we are going to give, not once, but in each succeeding year, to the Indian people by our relief of taxation. Each one of them paid in January a great deal less than a farthing for the Coronation of his Emperor; but he goes away in March with nearly eight times that sum in his pocket per annum. Spread over such enormous masses, the bounty may, in individual cases, seem small, but the recipient, I am sure, would be the first to recognise the degree to which he has gained; and I expect, if we could consult him, that he would at once respond by a request to have a Durbar every year, if only it was likely to be attended with similar results. There are, I know, some who say that this is all very well, but that we must look at what the Durbar cost the Princes and their people. Well, I do not know what it cost them, nor does anybody else, though I have seen a good many extravagant and random calculations. But I do know that these sums were voluntarily spent, that they were all spent in the country, that they diffused employment and radiated contentment far and wide, and that it would be impossible to get up a protest or a petition against them in a single Native State or in any part of the Indian Continent.

But I would ask whether we may not leave this somewhat sordid field of controversy, and pause for a moment to inquire what was the effect of the Durbar itself. I have deprecated the financial criterion. Here let me deprecate

the ceremonial criterion also. I have read a great deal since January about pomp and pageantry, and the idea of some persons seems to be that the Durbar was intended only to show the magnificence of the Empire and the trappings of the East. How strangely we often misread each other in the world. I suppose that reams of paper and gallons of ink have been expended upon the delineation of the splendours of the Durbar. May I make a confession? I have never read these accounts without a positive pang; for all the while I have been thinking about something else. I hope I am not a rhapsodist or a dreamer; but to me, and I hope to the majority of us, the Durbar meant not a panorama or a procession; it was a landmark in the history of the people, and a chapter in the ritual of the State. What was it intended for? It was meant to remind all the Princes and peoples of the Asiatic Empire of the British Crown that they had passed under the dominion of a new and single Sovereign, to enable them to solemnise that great and momentous event and to receive the Royal assurance and greeting. And what was its effect? They learned that under that benign influence they were one; that they were not scattered atoms in a heterogeneous and cumbersome mass, but co-ordinate units in a harmonious and majestic whole. The scales of isolation and prejudice and distrust fell from their eyes, and, from the Arab sheikhs of Aden on the west to the Shan chiefs of the Mekong on the borders of China, they felt the thrill of a common loyalty and the inspiration of a single aim. Was there nothing in this? Is it nothing that the Sovereign at his Coronation should exchange pledges with his assembled lieges—of protection and respect on the one side, of spontaneous allegiance on the other? It is nothing that the citizens of the Empire should learn what that Empire means? Even if we take the rest of India, which could not be present at Delhi, but held its own rejoicings in its own place, is it nothing to lift an entire people for a little space out of the rut of their narrow and parochial lives, and to let them catch a glimpse of a higher ideal, an appreciation of the hidden laws that regulate the march of nations and the destinies of men? I believe that the Durbar, more than any event in modern

history, showed to the Indian people the path which, under the guidance of Providence, they are treading, taught the Indian Empire its unity, and impressed the world with its moral as well as material force. It will not be forgotten. The sound of the trumpets has already died away; the captains and the kings have departed; but the effect produced by this overwhelming display of unity and patriotism is still alive and will not perish. Everywhere it is known that upon the throne of the East is seated a power that has made of the sentiments, the aspirations, and the interests of 300 millions of Asiatics a living thing, and the units in that great aggregation have learned that in their incorporation lies their strength. As a disinterested spectator of the Durbar remarked, Not until to-day did I realise that the destinies of the East still lie, as they always have done, in the hollow of India's hand. I think, too, that the Durbar taught the lesson not only of power but of duty. There was not an officer of Government there present, there was not a Ruling Prince nor a thoughtful spectator, who must not at one moment or other have felt that participation in so great a conception carried with it responsibility as well as pride, and that he owed something in return for whatever of dignity or security or opportunity the Empire had given to him.

EDUCATION

MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE AT TREVANDRUM (TRAVANCORE)

IN the course of his visit to the Native State of Travancore in November 1900, the Viceroy visited the Maharaja's College at Trevandrum, and addressed the students as follows:—

I am sure that we have all heard with the utmost pleasure the announcement that has just been made by the Dewan of the gracious and liberal manner in which His Highness desires to commemorate my visit to this place. It is very characteristic of the enlightenment and generosity of His Highness, and the opening which will thus be afforded to the accomplishments and abilities of the young men who have studied in this College, even though it does not serve to remind them in the future of the occasion of the foundation of the prize, will at any rate be a valuable incentive to their own studies.

Nothing gives me greater pleasure in my tours through India than to visit those institutions where the young men are being educated who in the next generation will have the fortunes of the country to so large an extent in their hands. Whether the College be one that is training up young Chiefs and nobles who will one day be called upon to manage estates or to govern peoples, or whether it is qualifying young men who, although not of such exalted birth, will yet supply the officials and administrators and public servants of the future, the spectacle is equally interesting and equally inspiring. When we are at school or college ourselves we hardly appreciate what a work is going on among us. We are absorbed in the friendly rivalry of passing examinations, or winning prizes, or

excelling in games. Our horizon seems somewhat limited because it is so full. But all the while every minute of the time that we spend in the school or the college is leaving its mark on our character. We are being influenced from day to day by the boys we associate with, by the masters who teach us, by the books that we read, by the half-unconscious effect of our surroundings ; and, almost before we have realised it, we are turned out into the world with a stamp fixed upon us which remains with us for life, and models all our conduct and actions, much as the face of a monarch is minted for all time upon the surface of a coin. I think it is a good thing therefore, now and then, for boys and young men while at school to pause, and to question themselves as to the die that is being stamped upon them, and as to the sort of currency, whether of gold or silver or copper, or some less pure alloy, of which they are going to be turned out.

Pupils of this College, if there is one word of advice that I might offer to you, it would be this : Do not all fall into the same mould. Do not passively accept the same metal. Take as a stimulus to your imaginations the singular variety and interest of the State to which you belong. I do not suppose that in the whole of India there is a State with greater fertility of resources, with more picturesque surroundings, with ampler opportunities for work, with richer prospects of development. It is also a very patriotic State. Every good Travancorean thinks that there is no place like Travancore, no college like the Trevandrum College, no prince like His Highness the Maharaja. With this fund of patriotism to start with, which should supply you with the initial impetus, I say : Look about you while you are still young, test your own aptitudes, and make up your mind as to the manner in which, when your academic education is over, you are going to serve the State. Do not follow each other like a flock of sheep, who always go through the same hole in a hedge. The hedge of public duty is capable of being pierced in a great many places, and the man who wants to get to the other side will waste a lot of precious time if he waits for his turn in the crowd that is trying to scramble through a single aperture.

Think therefore of the number of openings that lie before you in this interesting country. I believe that there is scarcely a single branch of scientific or technical education which is not capable of practical and remunerative pursuit in Travancore. There are minerals to be unearthed ; there is an abundant water-supply capable of being converted into different forms of energy and productiveness ; there is an infinite richness of plants and timbers and trees ; there are manifold varieties of animals and birds and insects ; there are all sorts of experiments that might be made in agriculture ; there are numerous openings for public works ; there is ample scope both for the student who prefers the laboratory, and for the out-of-door explorer or engineer.

In all these pursuits I am sure that you will meet with the warmest encouragement from the European professors of this College, and not less from His Highness the Maharaja himself. The Maharajas of Travancore have always been distinguished for their patronage of learning. His Highness takes the keenest interest in the welfare of this College ; and I have heard with pleasure, with reference to one of the fields of study that I mentioned just now, viz. that of Scientific Forestry, that he is sending four pupils to study in the Forest School of the Government of India at Dehra Dun.

Let me urge you, therefore, students of this College, to remember that your patriotism, which is an excellent thing, should not stop at thinking or saying that there is no such place as Travancore—otherwise it would be a rather cheap and tawdry sentiment,—but should proceed to the discovery of independent channels by which you may each of you render service to the State. You have a great many advantages offered to you in this institution. You have admirable tuition. You have, I believe, the second best library in the whole of the South of India. You have a generous and paternal Government. You are, in fact, a very highly favoured and rather a spoiled body of young men. For all this you owe some return. Take, therefore, a line for yourselves ; get out of the rut ; the whole of life is not summed up in the office or in the law courts ; remember that while the opportunities for a career can be,

and are, here provided for you by others, the career itself will be what the individual makes it; and let the ambition of each one of you be to say, when his time is nearing its end, that, whether in a small way or in a great, he has rendered an appreciable service to his native country.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, SIMLA

In September 1901 the Viceroy convened an Educational Conference at Simla, to discuss the various reformatory measures that were required in every branch of Indian education. There were present the leading members of the Government, the Directors of Public Instruction from every province in India, and representatives of the principal Colleges. The Conference, which was presided over by the Viceroy, sat every day for a fortnight, and passed a series of resolutions which were the basis of the reforms that were carried out during the ensuing four years. Lord Curzon indicated their nature in his opening address, which was as follows:—

I have invited you here to assist me with your advice in the inquiry upon which the Government is engaged with reference to the existing system of education in India. In any scrutiny of this system it is, I think, desirable that we should consider it from every point of view, in its broader and more important as well as in its narrower aspects. If we are to embark upon reform, it will be well that our eyes should range in advance over the entire arena, that we should co-ordinate the various departments of educational effort, and should deal with them as parts of a systematised whole. In this way we may best succeed in observing proportion in our treatment of the matter and fidelity to the guiding principles upon which it is our desire to proceed. I shall therefore ask your attention successively to the following subheadings of our main subject—University Education, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Technical Education, and, finally, to such general questions as remain over from our more detailed inquiries. I will indicate to you presently what is the nature of the problems to which I think that we should endeavour to find a solution in each of the categories to which I have referred.

But, before doing this, I should like to say a few

prefatory words as to the character and scope of the present Conference. We are a small number of persons collected round this table. Had I accepted one-half of the offers and suggestions that have been made to me, this room, large as it is, would not have held the numerous authorities who courteously volunteered their services. They did so, I think, in the belief that this gathering is more than it pretends to be. We are not met here to devise a brand-new plan of educational reform, which is to spring fully armed from the head of the Home Department, and to be imposed *nolens volens* upon the Indian public. This Conference is merely a gathering of the highest educational officers of Government, as well as of the official representatives of our leading Universities, whom I desire to consult upon many matters concerning which we at headquarters are lacking in first-hand knowledge, but to which, on the other hand, they have devoted many years of their lives. They will give us information which the Government does not possess, and will prevent us from committing mistakes into which we might otherwise fall.

But I do not expect our meetings, informal and confidential as they will be, to take the place of that examination of the subject and of our ideas upon it, by the educated sections of the outside public, which I think that they are quite entitled to offer, and which I, for my part, shall be grateful to receive. The question of Education in India is one that concerns not only the Viceroy or his Council, or the persons who are engaged, officially or otherwise, in administering the present system. It is the concern of every educated man in the country—aye, and also of the uneducated millions whom we hope to draw gradually within its range. Their interest in the matter is as great as ours; for, while in it is involved our responsibility, upon it hangs their future. Do not let any one suppose, therefore, that we are going to launch any vast or sudden surprise upon the Indian community without hearing what they think or what they may have to say. Concealment has been no part of my policy since I have been in India; and the education of the people is assuredly the last subject to which I should think of applying any such canon. It is for this reason that I

have decided to address you, as I am now doing, not merely in order to indicate to the members of this Conference the subjects which we are about to examine, but also to take the outside public, so to speak, into our confidence, in order that they may know the nature of the difficult problem that we are studying, and may help us with their disinterested opinions upon it.

Before such an audience as this I need not enter into any critical examination of the steps by which education in India has reached its present stage. They may be summed up in the broad general statement that we have been occupied for seventy years in imparting an English education to an Asiatic people. I do not mean to imply that before this epoch commenced there was no education in the country. Education there was; but it was narrow in its range, exclusive and spasmodic in its application, religious rather than secular, theoretical rather than utilitarian, in character. Above all, it wholly lacked any scientific organisation, and it was confined to a single sex. The landmarks of the reaction against this old system, which may now be said to have disappeared, and of the gradual and successful installation of its successor, have been Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835, the Despatch of the Court of Directors of July 1854, the Report of the Education Commission of 1882-83, and a series of Resolutions of the Government of India, the last of which was that issued by the present Administration in October 1899. In these may be traced the record of the struggles, the ambitions, the achievements, the errors, the hopes, of English education in India. We have now reached a stage at which it is possible for us at the opening of a new century to pass them in review, and incumbent upon us to determine in what manner we are to proceed in the future.

There exists a powerful school of opinion which does not hide its conviction that the experiment was a mistake, and that its result has been disaster. When Erasmus was reproached with having laid the egg from which came forth the Reformation, "Yes," he replied; "but I laid a hen's egg, and Luther has hatched a fighting cock." This, I believe, is pretty much the view of a good many of the critics of

English education in India. They think that it has given birth to a tone of mind and to a type of character that is ill-regulated, averse from discipline, discontented, and in some cases actually disloyal. I have always severed myself from these pessimists, and I do so again now. I have no sympathy with those who mope and moan over that which has been the handiwork of our own hands. Let us take it with its good and its evil. To me it seems that there is no comparison between the two. Mistakes and blunders there have been, otherwise we should not have met here to-day in order to discuss how we may set them right. But the successes have been immeasurably greater. Crude and visionary ideas, and half-educated and shallow products, of education, are far too plentiful; but I firmly believe that by the work of the past three-quarters of a century the moral and intellectual standard of the community has been raised, and I should be ashamed of my country if I did not think that we were capable of raising it still higher.

I have made this disclaimer of views to which expression is given in so many quarters, because it will be my duty to-day to call your attention to the weak points of the system, rather than to its merits; and because it might otherwise be thought that I had joined the band of carpers myself, and wanted to disparage and pull down, where my whole object is to reconstruct and build up. This, however, we cannot do until we realise where we have gone wrong and allowed unsoundness to enter in.

Some of these errors are very much on the surface. We started by a too slavish imitation of English models, and to this day we have never purged ourselves of the taint. For instance, we thought that we could provide India with all that it required in the shape of University education by simply copying the London University. In later times we have tried bodily to transplant smaller educational flora from the hothouses of Europe. Then we opined that it was enough to teach English to Indian children before they had even mastered their native tongues. Further, we assumed that because certain subjects were adapted to the Western intellect they could be equally assimilated by the Eastern, and that because they were communicated in certain formulæ

and a recognised terminology to English boys these would be equally intelligible to Indians. Finally, by making education the sole avenue to employment in the service of the State, we unconsciously made examination the sole test of education. Upon this point I must enlarge somewhat, seeing that it is at the root of the evil which we are convened to examine.

The late Dr. Thring, who was one of the greatest educationalists that England has produced, once remarked that education is the transmission of life from the living through the living to the living. I am afraid that in India we have fallen somewhat from this ideal. The secret of life has been in our hands, and we have not stinted its outpouring; but about the instruments, the form, the methods, and the recipients of the gift we have been not too particular. Examinations are being carried to extremes in most civilised countries, and cramming, which is their inevitable corollary, is now generally recognised as a universal danger. But in India we appear to have pushed the method to an excess greater than I have come across in any country, with the exception of China. We examine our boys from childhood to adolescence, and we put a pass before them as the *summum bonum* of life. When I contemplate the thousands of youths in our Indian schools and colleges, steadily grinding away in order to get their percentage of marks in an endless series of examinations, the spectacle does not seem to me less open to lament than that of the monks whom one sees in Tibet, and who by a never-ending mechanical revolution of the prayer-wheel, accompanied by the repetition of sounds which convey little meaning even to the suppliant, think that they are compassing eternal salvation. I am not speaking of the results of the examination system so much as I am of its effect upon its victims. That is the real issue. It is of no use to turn out respectable clerks or munsifs or vakils, if this is done at the expense of the intellect of the nation. A people cannot rise in the scale of intelligence by the cultivation of memory alone. Memory is not mind, though it is a faculty of the mind. And yet we go on sharpening the memory of our students, encouraging them to the application of purely mnemonic

tests, stuffing their brains with the abracadabra of geometry and physics and algebra and logic, until, after hundreds, nay thousands, have perished by the way, the residuum, who have survived the successive tests, emerge in the Elysian fields of the B.A. degree. Teachers get carried away by the same fundamental error as their pupils, and, instead of thinking only of the mental and moral development of the students committed to their care, are absorbed with percentages and passes and tabulated results. This is the furrow out of which we ought to lift Indian education if we can, before it has been finally dragged down and choked by the mire.

There are other questions which I ask myself, and to which I cannot give the answer that I would like. I have remarked that we have been at work for seventy years. Even if we have done much, have we made the anticipated progress, and are we going ahead now? We are educating $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of the total population of British India. Is this a satisfactory or an adequate proportion? We spent upon education in the last year from public funds a sum of £1,140,000, as compared with £1,360,000 from fees and endowments. Is the State's contribution sufficient? Ought it to be increased? Is there an educational policy of the Government of India at all? If so, is it observed, and what is the machinery by which it is carried out? Is there any due supervision of this vast and potent engine of creative energy, or, after its furnace has been fed, are the wheels left to go round, and the piston-rod to beat, without control? As I say, I cannot answer all these questions as I should wish. There seems to me to be a misdirection, and in some cases a waste, of force, for which I cannot hold the Government free from blame. I observe a conflict of systems which finds no justification in the administrative severance or in the local conditions of separate provinces and areas. In the praiseworthy desire to escape centralisation at headquarters we appear to have set up a number of petty kingdoms, a sort of heptarchy in the land, whose administration, in its freedom and lack of uniformity, reminds me of the days of the Hebrew judges when there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own

eyes. Elasticity, flexibility, variety, our system must have ; but it will lose half its force if they are not inspired by a common principle or directed to a common aim. The limits of Government interference I shall discuss later on ; but it will be observed from what I have already said that the responsibility of Government, by which I mean the Imperial Government, is one that I do not hesitate to avow. I hold the education of the Indian people to be as much a duty of the Central Government as the police of our cities or the taxation of our citizens. Indeed, more so ; for whereas these duties can safely be delegated to subordinate hands, the Government can never abrogate its personal responsibility for the living welfare of the multitudes that have been committed to its care.

With these preliminaries I pass to an examination of the different problems that lie before us. The first of these is the University system in India. The Indian Universities may be described as the first-fruits of the broad and liberal policy of the Education Despatch of 1854. Founded upon the model of the London University, they sprang into being at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. At a later date a somewhat different constitution, though a similar model, was adopted at Lahore and Allahabad. As time goes on, the list may perhaps be extended, though consolidation rather than multiplication of academic institutions is the object that I should prefer for the present to hold in view.

Now the first reflection that strikes every observer of the Indian system who is familiar with the older English Universities is the fundamental contrast both of character and conception. Oxford and Cambridge are incorporated institutions composed of Colleges which constitute and are embodied in the corporate whole. The two together make the University ; they twain are one flesh. Each College has its own students and fellows and tutors, and its own local habitation, often hallowed by romance and venerable with age. The groups of Colleges combine for purposes of lectures. The University supervises and controls all by its examinations, its professorial lectures, its central government, and its administration of corporate funds. Above all, it sways the life of the College undergraduate, by the memory

of its past, by the influence of its public buildings, by its common institutions, and by the cosmopolitan field of interest and emulation which it offers.

How different is India! Here the University has no corporate existence in the same sense of the term ; it is not a collection of buildings, it is scarcely even a site. It is a body that controls courses of study and sets examination papers to the pupils of affiliated Colleges. They are not part of it. They are frequently not in the same city, sometimes not in the same province. The affiliated Colleges of the Calcutta University are scattered in regions as remote as Burma and Ceylon. Then look at the Colleges. They are not residential institutions, with a history, a tradition, a *genius loci*, a tutorial staff, of their own. They are for the most part collections of lecture-rooms, and class-rooms, and laboratories. They are bound to each other by no tie of common feeling, and to the University by no tie of filial reverence. On the contrary, each for the most part regards the others as rivals, and pursues its own path in self-centred and sometimes jealous isolation. The reproach has even been brought against them that their lecturers are not teachers, but are merely the purveyors of a certain article to a class of purchasers, that this article happens to be called education, and that the purveyor stands not behind a counter but behind a desk. There may be exaggeration in this description, but there may also be a grain of truth. Even if the process may be termed education, it is not in the truest sense teaching : it may sharpen some facets of the mind, but it cannot properly develop the whole.

These are, of course, the familiar characteristics of an examining as contrasted with a teaching University ; characteristics which, owing to Indian geography and to the peculiar circumstances of Indian life, are seen in exaggeration in this country. The question that they suggest to me is whether we cannot do something to combine with the obligatory features of an Indian University some portion of the advantages and the influence of Western institutions. Of course, we cannot all in a moment, by a stroke of the pen, create an Indian Oxford or an Indian Cambridge. The country is not ready for the experiment, the funds are not

forthcoming, the students would not be there, it would not fit in with the Indian environment. But at least it may be possible to remove the impediments that retard the ultimate realisation of such an ideal. The younger sisters of our premier Indian Universities were given constitutional powers that had been denied to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay thirty years before. They may "appoint or provide for the appointment of professors and lecturers," whereas Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay enjoy no such statutory power. It is true that there is no obstacle to the private endowment of lectureships or professorships at these Universities, and the Tagore Law Professorship and the Sri Gopal Basu Mallick Fellowship at Calcutta are instances of such endowments. But they are not University foundations in the sense of being controlled by the University, nor is attendance at the lectures included in any University course. Now I do not say that if the legal facilities for the constitution of a teaching University were provided, advantage would forthwith be taken of them. The Universities of Allahabad and Lahore have not yet profited by their privileges in this respect. Neither do I say that education has yet reached a point of development in India at which they are essential to its progress. But it is conceivable that the opportunity will in time create the desire. Wealthy men in India, as elsewhere, may be tempted to expend their resources upon the endowment of University institutions or University chairs; and thus by slow degrees the Indian Universities may one day rise to the dignity of the superior status, and may learn to deserve their name. The foundation of prizes or scholarships for original work lying outside the University courses might also tend in the same direction. If, at the same time, it were found possible to concentrate and to unify the educational power that is now diffused in so many different directions, and to institute even tentatively a system of linked lectures among some at any rate of the affiliated Colleges, I think that we should be doing something to infuse greater unity into the present conflict of jarring atoms, and to inspire higher education in India with a nobler ideal. There is one matter upon which, in view of the fact that our advance must in any case be slow,

too much stress cannot, in my opinion, be laid. I allude to the adequate provision and due inspection of hostels or boarding-houses for the pupils at the Colleges in the large towns. In the absence of residential Colleges, these institutions appear to furnish the nearest equivalent that can for the present be supplied. Many a father is deterred from sending up his son to take part in the College courses in the great cities, from fear of the social and moral temptation to which he will be exposed. If attached to every College or group of Colleges there were such a building or buildings, a parent might feel less alarm, and the student would quickly become the gainer by the comradeship and *esprit de corps* which life in such surroundings, if properly controlled, would engender. I therefore commend the consideration of this subject to the Conference.

I pass to the government of the Indian Universities, by which question I mean the constitution and composition of the Senates and Syndicates. Here I do not shrink from saying that there is substantial need for reform. To some extent the failure of the Universities to satisfy the full expectation of their founders has been due to faults already indicated, the nature of the education offered, and the system under which it is supplied. But for these faults the executive authority cannot be held free from blame; and when one realises the principles upon which that authority has been constituted, and the sources from which it has been replenished, there cannot be much cause for surprise. I find that the strength of the various Senates differs in the following degrees: Allahabad 82, Lahore 104, Calcutta 180, Madras 197, Bombay 310. There can be no sufficient reason for such extreme disparity. These bodies, moreover, are constituted in different ways and in different proportions. The majority of them suffer from being much too unwieldy; and they all suffer from being filled, in the main, not by the test of educational interest, or influence, or knowledge, but by that of personal or official distinction. I do not say that it is not a good thing to place upon the governing body of every University a number of eminent outsiders who will lend dignity to its proceedings, and will regard academic matters from a not exclusively academic standpoint. Every

one will agree with this. But every one also knows that the principle has been pushed to extravagant lengths ; that scores of Fellows have been appointed who never come near the Senates at all, except possibly once or twice in a decade when they are whipped up for some important division ; that a Fellowship is regarded as a sort of titular honour, not as an academic reward ; that the majority of the Senates have had no practical experience of teaching, and very likely only take an abstract interest in education ; that many excellent men have never been placed upon them ; and, generally speaking, that almost any interest rather than that of education *per se* has been considered in their composition. If we take the elected Fellows, we shall find a similar diversity in proportions, methods of election, and results. In some cases election is provided for by statute ; in most it is conceded as a privilege. The numbers vary as follows : Lahore 7, Madras 16, Bombay 18, Calcutta 22, Allahabad 41. In some cases the Senates elect, in others the Graduates. Sometimes the elections are periodic, elsewhere they are intermittent. Then, if we proceed to examine the Syndicates, which are the real governing bodies of the Universities, we shall find a similar absence of uniformity, with what seem to me to be even more undesirable results. In the cases of Allahabad and Lahore, the Syndicates are provided for by the Acts of Incorporation. In the older Universities they have no statutory recognition at all, but have sprung out of the Provisional Committees which were appointed to work out the original constitution of those bodies. In the older Universities the Syndicates number 9 or 10 persons in addition to the Vice-Chancellor, in Bombay 14, while in that of Calcutta there is no provision other than the uncontrolled option of the Faculties, that a single educational officer shall be placed upon it. At Allahabad and Lahore the numbers are larger, 18 and 20, and of these it is required by bye-laws that a certain number shall have been engaged in educational work.

Now, as regards all the bodies that I have named, namely, nominated Fellows, elected Fellows, Senates, and Syndicates, I do not plead for mathematical uniformity, either of numbers or proportions, everywhere. It is a

great mistake to be too rigid, or to try and force everybody and everything into the same mould. But, on the other hand, I do say that the present absence of system is indefensible, and that it tends to produce much of the uncertainty and conflict which I have deplored. I have already, in a speech at the last Convocation of the Calcutta University,¹ indicated some of the directions in which I think that reform should lie; and as they will form the basis of our discussions, I will summarise them here. It will be for us to examine whether the larger Senates should be reduced to more moderate proportions, whether some machinery should be devised for placing upon them a sufficient number of educational experts, whether a Fellowship should be a terminable honour, capable of renewal, and whether a reasonable attendance test should be imposed. As regards elected Fellows, we must consider whether it is desirable to give a statutory basis to this most important and highly valued privilege, and, if so, what should be the qualifications both of the electoral body and of the candidates, and for what duration of time the Fellowship should be held. As regards the Syndicates, it is for consideration whether statutory recognition should be given to those bodies who are at present without it, what should be their due numbers in relation to the strength of the Senate and the position of the University, what are the functions that they should discharge, and what steps are required to ensure that these influential Committees, which practically have the government of the Universities in their hands, shall contain a due proportion of experts, who will guide them towards the goal that all friends of education must have in view.

All these are important questions. I do not venture to pronounce dogmatically upon any of them. But from such opportunity as I have had of consulting authoritative opinion as well as of testing the currents of the popular mind, I am inclined to think that they will furnish the basis of a generally acceptable reform. They are attempts to introduce order and regularity into that which is at present formless and void, and to provide us in future with a more scientific and efficient machine.

¹ This speech is not reproduced in this volume.

But improvements in mechanism cover but a small part of the field of inquiry. They are the mere instruments of administration, and their consideration leads us by a natural transition to a study of the system which they administer. I shall put to this Conference the questions—Is the academic standard which it is their business to maintain sufficiently high, or is it unduly low? Is it in course of being elevated, or is the tendency in a retrograde direction? What are the facts as regards the Entrance Examinations? And what as regards the First Arts and B.A. Examinations? These are questions upon which I have not the knowledge to enable me to pronounce with any certainty, but concerning which the facts that have come under my notice lead me to entertain some doubt. The evidence varies somewhat in different parts of the country, but the general impression seems to be that there is cause for alarm.

When I find that at Madras in the past year, out of 7300 persons who presented themselves for the Entrance University Examination, certified by their teachers to be fit for the higher courses of teaching, as many as four-fifths were rejected, I ask myself what the value of the school final courses can have been. When I find that in Calcutta, out of 6134 who entered for the Entrance Examination, only 3307, or 54 per cent, passed; that out of 3722 who entered for the First Arts Examination, only 1208, or 32 per cent, passed, and that out of 1980 who entered for the B.A. Examination, only 370, or 19 per cent, passed; and that, roughly speaking, of those who aspire to a University course, only 1 in 17 ultimately takes a degree, and of those who actually start upon it, only 1 in 9—I cannot but feel some suspicion as to the efficacy and the standards of a system which produces such results. Some might argue that tests which admit of so many failures must be too hard. I am disposed to ask whether the preceding stages are not too easy.

Now I know that a proposal to raise the standard anywhere is not popular. Every pupil wants to go forward; every College desires to send up as many as possible of its students; every teacher is personally concerned in pushing on his pupils. No one wants to discourage the Colleges which are engaged in a most momentous and uphill work, or

to dishearten and retard the boys. So much we may all concede. But my gorge is disposed to rise when I read in respectable papers that it does not matter whether the standard is high or low, and when I am invited, as I was on the occasion of the death of the late Queen Victoria, to commemorate her name by lowering the standard all round. Only the other day I read an argument that, because at some of the less influential Oxford or Cambridge Colleges the matriculation standard is low, therefore it does not matter how low it is here. There is not the remotest analogy between the two cases. An undergraduate does not pass those examinations in England as a test for the public service ; and he goes to a College in many cases less for the sake of the academic standards to which he is required to conform, than of the social and moral influences which result from a University career, and which are entirely lacking in this country.

We must regard the matter not from these low or selfish standpoints, but in the higher interests of education at large. A system, the standards of which are in danger of being degraded, is a system that must sooner or later decline. We do not want to close the doors of the Colleges, or to reduce the number of their pupils. It is quality, not quantity, that we should have in view. Whether this danger is a serious one, and how far it is desirable to meet it by increasing the length of the school courses, or by fixing a limit of age for the Entrance Examinations, or by raising the percentage of marks required for a pass, are matters upon which I shall take your opinion. But let the criterion of our action, and also of the public attitude upon this matter, be not the sordid one of self-interest, but the welfare of education as a whole, and the advancement of the future generations of our people.

These are the main questions in connection with University Reform that I shall submit to your notice. But there are others of scarcely inferior importance which I have no time to do more than summarise to-day. I have spoken of the duty of maintaining a high standard in examinations. Is it not equally our duty to maintain a high standard in the affiliation of Colleges ? I have examined

the systems in vogue in the different University areas, and I find that no two are alike, and that in some cases carelessness has crept in. I think that we want to exercise great caution and vigilance in the recognition of these affiliated institutions, and that incentives should be given to their maintenance of the initial standard. Again, when I look at the question of degrees, I was somewhat surprised to note last year that a proposal made in the Senate of the Calcutta University to deprive of their degrees members who had been convicted of a criminal offence was defeated. I believe that the somewhat sinister interpretation which this step appeared to justify was not borne out by the inner history of the case ; but it cannot be denied that a University whose governing body arrives at such a decision exposes itself to not undeserved reproach. Here once more I ask—Is not a high standard a primary and solemn obligation ?

A corollary of the subject of the elevation of standards is the assimilation of those already existing. It does not seem desirable that the degree of one University should be thought much of, and another little. Is it possible to take any steps towards the equalisation of the value and estimation of University degrees ? Is any interchange between the examining staffs of the different Universities possible ?

Then there is the question of Text-books and Courses of Study. Upon looking into the matter two years ago in connection with Primary and Secondary Schools, I found that there was a complete absence of uniformity in the different provinces, that the Local Governments had in some places abdicated their functions, and that the cardinal principles of the Education Commission had been ignored. By a Resolution issued in February 1900 we endeavoured to correct these errors. The question of text-books in Colleges is one of equal importance, and calls for examination. I observe that public opinion is very sensitive in this matter, and is always inclined to suspect the Government of some dark intention. This appears to me to be unreasonable. It might equally be open to the Government to turn round and say to the Board of Studies, or the authorities who

prescribe the text-books and courses of study, that there must be something queer in the background if they are so nervous about any intervention. Surely we all realise that successful teaching must depend upon two things, the quality of the teachers, and the nature of the thing taught. To tell me that Government is responsible for education in this country, but that it is not to be at liberty to say a word upon the thing taught, is to adopt a position which seems to me illogical and absurd. The views that we entertain upon this matter were clearly stated in the Resolution to which I have referred, and I will quote them :—

The Government of India cannot consent to divest itself of the responsibility that attaches both to its interest and its prerogatives. If it is to lend the resources of the State to the support of certain schools, it cannot abrogate its right to a powerful voice in the determination of the course of studies which is there imparted.

I have now finished with the subject of University Education. Your authority and advice should enable me to solve many of the doubts that I have here expressed ; and we shall all profit by the out-of-door criticism which these views may perhaps be fortunate enough to elicit. If it be found desirable to take any comprehensive action in the matter, I suggest for further consideration whether it may not be well to institute some preliminary inquiry at the various centres affected, at which those who are interested may have an opportunity of favouring us with their views.

The subject of Secondary Education, to which I now turn, presents, in many ways, more encouraging features than its sister subjects, both higher and lower in the scale. This is due in the main to the increasing demand for English education, to the starting of schools in order to meet it, and to the rise in income from fees therein obtained. There are several matters in connection with this branch of our subject to which I shall invite your attention ; but there are only two of them upon which it is necessary to say anything here.

The first of these is the degree to which is being carried out the Government policy as laid down by the Education Commission of 1882-83 and by subsequent Resolutions—

viz. that private effort should be encouraged by every possible means, and that Government should gradually withdraw from the direct management of secondary schools. This seems to me to be a very difficult question, for, while it cannot be doubted that the principles underlying this policy are sound, and while progress in that direction should be our aim, Secondary Education is not yet in most parts in a position to stand alone. The existence of a limited number of well-managed Government schools undoubtedly serves to keep up a high standard in aided schools, and their disappearance would probably be followed by a serious diminution in the quality of Secondary Education. My view is that a *pari passu* development will probably for some time longer be found desirable, but that Government should be careful to regard its own institutions not as competitors, but as models.

The second question is how far the policy of bifurcation of studies in the upper classes of High Schools—as recommended by the Education Commission—is being carried out, and what are its results. The object of this recommendation was to institute a practical course of instruction for those youths who do not intend to proceed to the University Examinations, but who aspire to a commercial or non-literary career. Progress in this direction has, on the whole, been slow, and has varied in different portions of the country. The obstacles have been great. The Indian middle-class public has not yet attuned itself to the need for practical education; a superior commercial value still attaches to literary courses. To some extent the studies thus organised have not been successful, because they lead to nothing, because they have been too optional and not sufficiently practical, and because they have not been co-ordinated with technical or commercial education in a more advanced stage. I expect that if we can provide the boys who elect for what I may call, upon the English analogy, the modern side, either with employment when they leave the schools or with facilities for a continuous training in technical courses, we shall do better in the future. But something will also depend on the attitude of the educated classes, and the direction which they give to the popular mind.

Primary Education, by which I understand the teaching of the masses in the vernacular, opens a wider and a more contested field of study. I am one of those who think that Government has not fulfilled its duty in this respect. Ever since the cold breath of Macaulay's rhetoric passed over the field of the Indian languages and Indian text-books, the elementary education of the people in their own tongues has shrivelled and pined. This, I think, has been a mistake, and I say so for two principal reasons. In the first place, the vernaculars are the living languages of this great continent. English is the vehicle of learning and of advancement to the small minority ; but for the vast bulk it is a foreign tongue which they do not speak and rarely hear. If the vernaculars contained no literary models, no classics, I might not be so willing to recommend them. But we all know that in them are enshrined famous treasures of literature and art ; while even the secrets of modern knowledge are capable of being communicated thereby in an idiom and in phrases which will be understood by millions of people to whom our English terms and ideas will never be anything but an unintelligible jargon. My second reason is even wider in its application. What is the greatest danger in India ? What is the source of suspicion, superstition, outbreaks, crime—yes, and also of much of the agrarian discontent and suffering among the masses ? It is ignorance. And what is the only antidote to ignorance ? Knowledge. In proportion as we teach the masses, so we shall make their lot happier, and in proportion as they are happier, so they will become more useful members of the body-politic.

But if I thus stoutly urge the claims of the education of the people, there is one misapprehension to which I must protest against being exposed : the man who defends Primary Education is not therefore disparaging Higher Education. It is one of the peculiar incidents of journalistic criticism as practised in the native Press, that you cannot express approval of one thing without being supposed to imply disapproval of another. Let me say then, in order to disarm this particular line of comment, that I regard both Elementary and Higher Education as equally the duty and the care of

Government, and that it does not for one moment follow, because the one is encouraged, that the other will therefore be starved. As a matter of fact, we have rushed ahead with our English Education ; and the vernaculars with their multitudinous clientèle have been left almost standing at the post. They have to make up a good deal of leeway in the race before any one can be suspected of showing them undue favour.

The main obstacles which Primary Education has to contend with spring from the people themselves. As they rise in the social scale they wish their children to learn English. The zemindars encourage this tendency, and the District Boards and Municipalities do little to drag the pendulum back. Thus we find that in some provinces Primary Education is almost stationary, while in others it is only making slow speed. The question is really in the main one of money. If the means were forthcoming, I do not doubt that local Governments would be ready to adopt a more generous policy. For my own part, I venture to think that, when we have the resources at our disposal—as I hope that with a cycle of good seasons we shall have before long,—one of the first claims upon its bounty that Government would do well to acknowledge will be the education of the masses. It cannot be a right thing that three out of every four country villages should be still without a school, and that not much more than 3,000,000 boys, or less than one-fifth of the total boys of school-going age, should be in receipt of primary education. I am not clear also that we might not do more by making passes in the higher vernacular examinations the test for subordinate Government posts, where the first requisite is familiarity with the language of the people.

Subordinate questions connected with this branch of my subject, such as the applicability of Kindergarten or object-lesson teaching, and of manual training, practical instruction in the scientific principles underlying the industry of agriculture, simple lessons in geometrical drawing, and the sufficiency of the teaching and inspecting staffs, I will reserve for our deliberations, and will now pass on to the subject of Technical Education.

The phrase Technical Education is employed in many senses in this country, just as it also is in Europe. In both parts of the world, many of those who use it have no clear idea of what it signifies ; and so great is the general confusion that I observed the other day that no less a personage than the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared that he was unable to find a meaning for the phrase. Here in India there seems to be a general idea that in Technical Education will be found the regeneration of the country. Technical Education is to resuscitate our native industries, to find for them new markets and to recover old, to relieve agriculture, to develop the latent resources of the soil, to reduce the rush of our youths to literary courses and pursuits, to solve the economic problem, and generally to revive a Saturnian age. The imagination of the people has been struck by the alleged triumphs of Germany, and by the unquestionable enterprise of the youth of Japan. The Government of India has been caught in the same stream of anxious interest, but uncertain thought ; and the autumnal leaves are not more thickly strewn in Vallombrosa than the pigeon-holes of our Departments are filled with Resolutions on the subject inculcating the most specious and unimpeachable maxims in the most beautiful language.

There is nothing to wonder at in the relatively small progress that has so far been attained. Where knowledge is fluid, action is not likely to be consistent or strong ; and where every dreamer expects to find in a particular specific the realisation of his own dream, there are certain to be more disappointments than successes. But from this it must not be inferred either that nothing has already been done, or that much more cannot be done, or even that a good many of those who write and talk rather vaguely may not be to some extent on the right track.

First, however, let me say clearly what I mean, and what I do not mean, by Technical Education, for the purposes of the present discussion. I mean that practical instruction which will qualify a youth or a man for the practice of some handicraft, or industry, or profession. I do not include in the phrase that more advanced form of educational activity

which is known as Scientific Research, and which involves the application of the most highly trained faculties to scientific experiment. Nor, at the other end of the scale, do I include the practical steps to be taken for the revival of Indian arts and industries. That is a question in which I take the keenest interest; but it is a question which has a commercial aspect, and which will be solved by the application of private enterprise and capital, and by following the recognised and traditional lines of Indian practice, rather than it will be by education in Government Colleges or Schools. Nor, again, do I refer to those steps for imparting a more practical turn to the education of the young in our Primary and Secondary Schools, mention of which has already been made, but which must not be confused with technical instruction, partly because they are general instead of specialised, partly because they are in the majority of cases intended to train up faculties rather than to train for professions.

Eliminating all these aspects of educational effort, which are sometimes, though as I think incorrectly, included in the phrase Technical Instruction, and confining its use to the narrower interpretation which I have suggested, let us see what has already been done, and where lies the necessity for increased activity or for reform. The institutions of this character that have been founded or aided by the Government of India fall into two classes: (1) Technical Colleges or Schools; (2) Industrial Schools. The former have been founded for the direct object of training skilled workers in certain professions, arts, or trades. They include Colleges of Engineering and Agriculture, Veterinary Colleges, Schools of Art, and other analogous institutions. Some of these, such as the Rurki and Sibpur Engineering Colleges, the College of Science at Poona, the Victoria Jubilee Institute at Bombay, have turned out, either for the public service or for professional careers, most excellent men. Several of the Schools of Art have done much also to keep alive old arts and designs; though I fancy that their pupils, when the courses are over, are too apt to drift away from artistic pursuits, and that they cannot claim as yet to have produced any considerable artists or architects. The Agricultural Colleges have

been less successful. They have been resorted to as stepping-stones to Government service in the revenue or settlement branches of administration ; but, in a country that subsists by agriculture, they have as yet been but poorly patronised by the class who are hereditarily connected as landowners with the soil. Nevertheless, surveying the whole field, it does not seem to me that it is in respect of institutions of the class that I have been describing that reform is most urgently required. Indeed, there is a certain danger in starting too many ambitious schemes. We have to provide not merely for the select thousands, but, if possible, for the less favoured tens of thousands.

This brings me to the subject of the Industrial Schools that exist, or should exist, on a rather lower plane—what I may call ordinary Middle Class Technical Schools. Last year, as you know, I entrusted Sir Edward Buck, who has devoted a lifetime to infusing ideas into Indian administration, with the task of advising the Government upon Technical Education in general in this country ; and his Report, which you have already received, will supply us with a useful basis for discussion. It cannot be doubted that here lies a fruitful field for reform. These schools have been started in different parts of the country upon no definite principles and with no clear aims, and have so far been attended with insignificant results. In the first place, it is a commonplace of all Technical Education that it must have certain antecedents, *i.e.* it must be preceded by a good general training of a practical character in the schools. This consideration explains the importance of the subject to which, when speaking of Primary and Secondary Education, I have already drawn your attention. Then, when the pupil comes to your Industrial School, you must make up your mind whether you wish to turn him into a scholar or to make him a craftsman—it is difficult to do both at the same time. If the latter is your object, as it obviously must be, then you must give him an education neither too high nor too low to qualify him for an artisan. If it is too high, you make him discontented with manual labour ; if too low, he becomes a useless workman. Further, when you propose to teach him a handicraft, let it be one

to which he will adhere when he has left the school, and which will provide him with a livelihood. Sir E. Buck says that our present Industrial Schools are largely engaged in teaching carpentry and smithy-work to boys who never intend to be carpenters or blacksmiths. There can be no excuse for such a misdirection of energy. It applies also to many of the Art Schools where, with great labour, a boy is taught carving, or pottery, or sculpture, or some other art industry, and then, when he has got his diploma, he cheerfully drops his art and accepts a modest billet in the service of Government. If Technical Education is to open a real field for the youth of India, it is obvious that it must be conducted on much more businesslike principles. When the poet said that "Life is real! Life is earnest!" he wrote what is even more true of that part of life which is called education. I should like to begin with these Industrial Schools, and to see whether we cannot make something much better out of them. First, we must co-ordinate them with the general schools, and distinguish, instead of mixing up, their courses. Then we must turn them into practical places where a boy does not merely pick up a smattering of an art or an industry for which he has no care, but where he acquires a training for a professional career. Lastly, we must invite native interest to co-operate with us in the matter; for there is no use in creating good schools if the pupils will not come into them, and there is no use in manufacturing good workmen if no employment is available for them when they have been taught. If we can proceed on these lines, I believe that we may be able to do something substantial, even if it be not heroic, for the cause of Technical Education in this country.

There remain five subjects to which I hope that we may find time to devote attention. The first of these is the present condition and future encouragement of the Training Colleges or Schools, and, in a lower scale, of the Normal Schools, in which our teachers are trained up. I would not quarrel with the thesis that this is the supreme need of Indian Education. Two propositions I would unhesitatingly lay down. The first is, that as the teacher is, so will the school be, and the pupil in the school. I might even carry

on the remark to a higher stage, and say that as the head of the Training School is, so will the teaching staff be whom he turns out. The second is, that no country will ever have good education until it has trained good teachers. My tours in India have not brought me into contact with any of these preparatory institutions, and I therefore cannot speak of them at first hand. I am disposed, however, to think that, while there is no great deficiency in their numbers, there is room for much improvement in respect of quality and work, and that our policy should be not to multiply, but to raise the status. Of course here, as everywhere else, raising the status means in the last resort raising the pay. I would not shrink from recommending this conclusion to the local Governments, since I cannot imagine any object to which they could more profitably devote their funds.

The second question is that of the recruitment of the higher officers of our educational service, and the tests, in respect both of educational knowledge and of acquaintance with the language, to which they are required to conform. Are we sufficiently strict in these particulars?

The third topic is that of Female Education. Here the figures exhibit a relatively very backward state of affairs. Indeed, Mr. Cotton in the last Quinquennial Review described it as "the most conspicuous blot on the educational system of India." In the past year there were only 425,000 girls attending all classes of schools out of the entire population, and of these nearly one-third were in Madras, where the native Christian and Eurasian populations are unusually large. Moderate as I have shown the number of boys to be who go to school, only one girl attends for every ten of the male sex, and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the female population of school-going age; and the total expenditure upon Female Education in Primary and Secondary Schools from all public funds (I exclude fees, subscriptions, and endowments) was last year only 11 lakhs, as compared with 80 lakhs on boys. Female Education has to suffer from many drawbacks in this country. It is contrary to the traditions and prejudices of the people. Their native customs, particularly that of early marriage, and the idea that women ought not to be

trained up to remunerative employment, are unfavourable to it. In so far as it is practised, it is almost entirely confined to girls of the lower classes, who go to the Primary Schools to pick up the three R's. Parents in the higher classes will not send their girls to school. They prefer to have them educated in the zenana at home. It is too much, with all these obstacles in the way, to expect that Female Education in India will make any sudden or rapid strides. But I think that we might do more to foster its growth by providing suitable teachers, and, perhaps, by encouraging the formation of a few model schools.

The fourth subject to which I referred is that of Moral Teaching in our schools. I do not feel it necessary to speak of religious instruction, because, profoundly as I believe that no teaching of the young can have the desired results unless it rests upon a religious foundation, I hold as strongly that it is not for ourselves to undertake the teaching of a foreign religion in the Government schools. But the question of moral training is one to which the Government of India have often devoted much attention. I am not inclined to find a solution in the moral primer or textbook that was suggested by the Education Commission. If pupils can cram Euclid, there is nothing to prevent them from cramming ethics. I am not certain either that the moral precepts which we understand are as easily grasped by the native mind. The ideas of good and evil are equally entertained, but are differently expressed, by the East and the West. We must look for religious instruction, Christian, Mohammedan, or Hindu, to the private institutions, where the tenets of those faiths are taught by their own votaries, and to which we can lend the assistance of Government grants-in-aid. As regards the moral standard, there are three methods by which it can be inculcated: by the careful selection of teachers, by the use of textbooks that imbue by precept or example a healthy moral tone, and by discipline in the boarding-schools. The sum and substance of the matter is that books can do something, but teachers can do more.

My last topic is the desirability of creating a Director-General of Education in India. Upon this point I will give

my opinions for what they may be worth. To understand the case we must first realise what the existing system and its consequences are. Education is at present a sub-heading of the work of the Home Department, already greatly overstrained. When questions of supreme educational interest are referred to us for decision, we have no expert to guide us, no staff trained to the business, nothing but the precedents recorded in our files to fall back upon. In every other department of scientific knowledge—sanitation, hygiene, forestry, mineralogy, horse-breeding, explosives—the Government possesses expert advisers. In education, the most complex and most momentous of all, we have none. We have to rely upon the opinions of officers who are constantly changing, and who may very likely never have had any experience of education in their lives. Let me point to another anomaly. Under the system of decentralisation that has necessarily and, on the whole, rightly been pursued, we have little idea of what is happening in the provinces, until, once every five years, a gentleman comes round, writes for the Government of India the Quinquennial Review, makes all sorts of discoveries of which we know nothing, and discloses shortcomings which in hot haste we then proceed to redress. How and why this systemless system has been allowed to survive for all these years it passes my wit to determine. Now that we realise it, let us put an end to it for ever. I do not desire an Imperial Education Department, packed with pedagogues and crusted with officialism. I do not advocate a Minister or Member of Council for Education. I do not want anything that will turn the Universities into a department of the State, or fetter the Colleges and schools with bureaucratic handcuffs. But I do want some one at headquarters who will prevent the Government of India from going wrong, and who will help us to secure that community of principle and of aim without which we go drifting about like a deserted hulk on chopping seas. I go farther, and say that the appointment of such an officer, provided that he be himself an expert and an enthusiast, will be of immense assistance to the local Governments. His wider outlook will check the perils of narrowness and pedantry, while his custody of the leading

principles of Indian Education will prevent those vagaries of policy and sharp revulsions of action which distract our administration without reforming it. He would not issue orders to the local Governments ; but he would be in frequent communication with them ; and his main function would be to advise the Government of India. Exactly the same want was felt in America, where decentralisation and devolution are even more keenly cherished, and had been carried to greater lengths, than here ; and it was met by the creation of a Central Bureau of Education in 1867, which has since then done invaluable work in co-ordinating the heterogeneous application of common principles. It is for consideration whether such an official in India as I have suggested should, from time to time, summon a representative Committee or Conference, so as to keep in touch with the local jurisdictions, and to harmonise our policy as a whole.¹

I have now passed in view the entire field of Indian Education ; and if I have detained you long, I doubt whether it would have been possible to do even elementary justice to so vast a theme more shortly. I will only say in conclusion —and these remarks are addressed to the outside public rather than to yourselves—that I trust that the frankness in which I have indulged will not turn out to have been misplaced. It is possible to wreck any scheme of educational reform by making it an occasion for the selfishness of class interests or the bigotry of faction. Let us dismiss all such petty considerations from our minds. The Government desire, with an honesty of purpose that is not open to question, and with aims that few will contest, to place the educational system of this country upon a sounder and firmer basis. It can be done if all the parties and persons interested will combine to help us ; and in that case it will be done, not by Government fiat, but by common consent. Only let every one of us bear in mind the real magnitude of the issues, and remember that we are not playing with counters, but handling the life-pulse of future generations.

¹ The consent of the Secretary of State was subsequently obtained to the appointment of a Director-General of Education, and the first occupant of the post, Mr. H. W. Orange, signally justified his selection. For a Conference of the character here indicated, *vide* p. 346.

CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Speech at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University
on February 13, 1904

I address this assemblage to-day in the unique position of a Chancellor presiding for the sixth time in succession at a Convocation of the Calcutta University. But I also occupy the, if possible, still more unusual position of the last Chancellor of an old régime, addressing the last Senate and the last Syndicate of an era that is about to disappear. There may be some who think that they see in the Vice-Chancellor¹ and myself the two chief executioners, about to admonish their victims before leading them to the scaffold, and who may think that the position is one of some painfulness and restraint. But I can assure this Convocation on behalf of my hon. colleague as well as for myself that we entertain no such feelings. For the patient in our view is in no wise doomed to extinction, but is about to reappear with a fresh lease of life ; and the instruments of the sentence hold in their hand, not the executioner's axe, but the phial that contains the elixir of a new and happy resurrection. Neither, again, do we regard the old Senate and the old University as passing out of their present existence with any sentence of shame or disgrace recorded against them. On the contrary, if we look back at the forty years of their existence, there is much to be grateful for in what they have done or attempted to do. If they have not yet given Higher Education to India in any true sense of the term, they have at least made it an aspiration to the best of her sons. Slowly but surely they have raised the standards of national morals, and they have brought to the door of thousands the wisdom and the ideals of the West. But like many implements that have been working for nearly fifty years without a respite, their machinery has grown rusty and obsolete ; they have fallen into a narrow and stereotyped groove of work ; the quality of their output is greatly inferior to its volume ; and in too many cases the end arrived at bears little relation

¹ Sir Thomas Raleigh.

to education at all. These are the reasons why we have felt called upon to undertake the task, familiar in every workshop in the world, of taking stock of our plant, of overhauling it, and bringing it up to the needs of the day. There are always persons on these occasions who deprecate this necessary and businesslike proceeding, because it involves a shock to some interests, or some prospective risk, or even some positive change. We, however, on whose shoulders the responsibility has been laid, cannot afford to be deterred by these pleas. We must not be rash or hurried in our procedure ; and, assuredly, when I remember myself standing no less than five years ago in this place and announcing the commencement of the task of which we are now approaching the completion, that seems to me about the last accusation which should be brought against us. We must as far as possible, in a matter of the supreme national importance of education, be open to advice and correction, and must try to carry the community along with us. I say as far as possible, because there are always some persons who do not mean to be conciliated, and who cavil and sneer at the very reform which they are one day destined to applaud. That class we may argue with, but we cannot, I fear, placate. But it is, on the whole, a small one ; and I prefer rather to turn to the far wider section of the community with whom it has been my good fortune to come into contact during these five years of strenuous preparation and discussion ; to good men engaged in the work or profession of teaching, but eating their hearts out because of the unsatisfactory conditions under which it has hitherto been carried on ; to officials who have seen the administrative side of the system, and are burning to remedy its flaws and abuses ; to non-officials who look rather to the broad results, and have recognised that learning in India is not making the progress that it should ; to native gentlemen who, irrespective of party politics or national feeling, desire to see their countrymen raised higher in the intellectual scale, who feel that, somehow or other, the soul and heart of the people are not giving forth all that they are capable of doing, and who have sufficient independence of thought to realise that, unless Government interferes to set matters right, there will be no setting right at all. All

these are the classes from whom I have met with sympathy, co-operation, and support ; and I rejoice to think that they, along with the Government of India, are the joint authors and co-sponsors of the projected reforms.

I do not propose to address this Convocation on the present occasion on the provisions of the Universities Bill. That measure is now before the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, and in what form it may ultimately emerge I cannot tell. I shall have opportunities of speaking upon the matter and of defending the attitude of the Government, if it requires defence, later on. Nor do I think that the present audience, which contains so many young men who have just taken their degrees, and who have not familiarised themselves with the polemics of public life—at least I hope that they have not,—would be altogether the most suitable for the purpose.

I would like, however, to address these young men for a few moments, and to ask them, and their seniors at the same time—for my remarks will be equally applicable to both,—if they have at all realised what it is, or at least what it ought to be, to belong to a University ; and if I can get them to understand this, then they will be in a better frame of mind, on some other occasion, when the Universities Bill is being discussed in the Legislative Council or in the Press, to realise what it is that we are struggling for, and why we take so much trouble, and are willing to fight so many battles, in the pursuit of our aim.

I daresay that to many of this audience the University means nothing more than the final stage in a long and irksome series of examinations in which they have been engaged ever since they were young boys. It has, perhaps, something rather grander and bigger about it than any educational institution that they have known before, because it is in the capital of India, and possesses this great hall, and still more because it is the dispenser of the gown and the hood that signify academic rank, and carry with them the coveted initials that are the passport in India to so many places and occupations. But the name, I daresay, suggests to them no other associations ; it inspires few ambitions ; it is invested with no romance. In hundreds

of cases the connection of the student with the University, as distinct from the College where he has attended, is nothing beyond the sheets of paper on which are printed the questions which he is called upon to answer, and the slip of parchment on which he receives the diploma that records his success.

It is because we want to make the University something better and more substantial, better than a mere shell with no kernel inside it, and more substantial than a name, that we have undertaken these reforms. What ought the ideal University to be in India, as elsewhere? As the name implies, it ought to be a place where all knowledge is taught by the best teachers to all who seek to acquire it, where the knowledge so taught is turned to good purposes, and where its boundaries are receiving a constant extension. If I may borrow a metaphor from politics, there is no scientific frontier to the domain of knowledge. It is the one sphere where territorial expansion is the highest duty instead of an ignoble greed. Then the ideal University that we are contemplating should be centrally situated; it should be amply and even nobly housed; it should be well equipped, and it should be handsomely endowed. In these conditions it would soon create an atmosphere of intellectual refinement and culture, a moral quality and influence would spring within it, and traditions of reverence would grow up like creepers round its walls. Thus you see that the ideal University would consist of two aspects. It would be a place for the dissemination of knowledge and the encouragement of learning; and it would further be a human smithy where character was forged in the furnace of experience, and beaten out on the anvil of truth. Which of these two aspects is the more important I need not here discuss. A good deal depends on the state of moral and intellectual development of the race that is being educated there, and something also on the needs of the country concerned. But no good University, and certainly no ideal University, can exist without playing both parts.

Now, having drawn my sketch, if you ask me whether we have got this University here, or anywhere in India, the answer is unmistakably No. We are without the traditions,

for the oldest University in India is not yet half a century old ; we have not the environment or the atmosphere—they cannot be created in twice that time ; we lack the buildings, the endowments, the teachers, the scholarships, the funds. It would be easy for any critic to contend that our Universities are no more than examining boards, our Colleges schools of a higher grade, our courses a textbook at one end and a notebook at the other. I would not dispute with him if he went farther, and said that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, or for the training of character, is only in its infancy, and that, while we trim the wick of the intellect with mechanical accuracy, we have hardly learned how to light up the lamp of the soul.

But are we, therefore, to sit still or be dismayed ? Are we not to make a beginning, or to foster such beginning—and I think that it clearly exists—as has already been made ? Lord Beaconsfield once said that it is a holy thing to see a nation saved by its youth. Yes, it is ; but there is a holier thing still, and that is to save the youth of a nation. I wonder how many of the good people who go to meetings and denounce the Government for ringing the death-knell of Higher Education in India—and other tropes of that description—pause to think that you cannot ring the death-knell of that which in the true sense of the term has never been born. Is there a thoughtful man in India who does not know that if we go on as we are now doing, education in this country, instead of becoming higher, must become lower, and that the best education will continue, as now, to be the monopoly of the few, instead of being increasingly diffused among the classes who are worthy of it ? Our purpose, therefore, is not destructive, but constructive. We have to save the rising generation of India from walking in false paths, and to guide them into right ones. No Government can do this by itself, and no law that can be placed upon the statute-book will effect it. But Government can provide the opportunity, and the law can supply the means ; and then the responsibility will rest with others, both of your race and mine, for taking advantage of them.

If, then, we have not got the ideal University, and are not in a position by a stroke of the pen to create it, at

least let us render it possible in the future. The material is here in abundance; the teachers are available or can be procured; the system alone is at fault. I can see no reason why India should not one day rise to the conception of a University, not perhaps as advanced as that which I sketched a few moments ago, but immeasurably higher than anything at present existing in the country; a University which shall gather around it collegiate institutions proud of affiliation, and worthy to enjoy it; whose students, housed in residential quarters in close connection with the parent University, shall feel the inner meaning of a corporate life; where the governing body of the University shall be guided by expert advice, and the teachers shall have a real influence upon teaching; where the courses of study shall be framed for the development, not of the facile automaton, but of the thoughtful mind; where the professors will draw near to the pupils and mould their characters for good; and where the pupils will begin to value knowledge for its own sake, and not as a means to an end. I should like to see this spark of the sacred fire that has been brought across the seas lit in one or two places at least before I leave the country, and I would confidently leave others to keep alive the flame.

I think that amid much of doubt and discouragement we may see the signs of a better day. The most thoughtful Indians know how urgently it is required. The best Europeans are ready to help it on. Both realise that only by co-operation can the end be attained. It would be absurd to argue that education is a matter for Government only. That is not the meaning of Government supervision or Government control. Education is the interest of the whole people; and under the new system we shall want the co-operation of the Indian just as much as under the old. But it is the best Indian that we shall want just as much as the best European, and in my view we shall obtain him. All his ideals are summed up in making education a reality for his countrymen. Otherwise what will India become? Our interests are the same, for an ignorant India is a discontented India, while the really well-educated Indian is also the best citizen. It is because these truths to me are so self-evident that amid the noisy warfare of words, and even

of aspirations, I decline to lose heart, and once more at this last Convocation of the old University elect to take my stand on the platform of confidence and faith. If to any my words seem riddles, or the future dark and the way long, let me quote to him our English poet's assurance, which in many much worse storms has given solace to others as it has done to myself :—

Say not the struggle nought availeth,
The labour and the wounds are vain,
The enemy faints not, nor faileth,
And as things have been they remain.

If hopes were dupes, fears may be liars ;
It may be, in yon smoke concealed,
Your comrades chase e'en now the fliers,
And, but for you, possess the field.

For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main.

These words contain the hope, the consolation, and the prayer of every man who is struggling for the reform of education in this country.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, SIMLA

On September 20, 1905, the Viceroy delivered the following address at a Conference of the Directors of Public Instruction at Simla, in which he summed up the Educational policy of his administration. This speech is the natural sequel to that with which he opened the first Simla Conference on September 2, 1901.

I was very much gratified when I learned that it was the desire of the Directors of Public Instruction who are assembled in Conference at Simla that I should attend one of their meetings to say a few words of farewell. This desire was conveyed to me by Mr. Orange in language so flattering that I could not resist it; for he said that he spoke for all the Directors, and that they spoke for the whole service of which they are members. Accordingly I accepted the invitation, and that is why I am here to-day.

I feel rather like a general addressing his marshals for the last time, before he unbuckles his sword and retires into private life. For the task which has engaged so much of our energies during the past seven years has been like nothing so much as a campaign, marked by a long series of engagements which we have fought together; and though I am about to resign my commission, you will remain to carry on, I hope, the same colours to victory on many another well-won field. To you, therefore, I need make no apology for offering a few final remarks on your own subject. It would almost be an impertinence if I were to address you on any other. In a well-known work of fiction one of the characters is made to groan over that "bore of all bores, whose subject had no beginning, middle, or end—namely, education." Here, however, where we all belong to the same category, I must accept the risk of inflicting that form of penance on others in the hopeful assurance that I shall not be found guilty by you.

When I came to India, Educational Reform loomed before me as one of those objects which, from such knowledge of India as I possessed, appeared to deserve a prominent place in any programme of administrative reconstruction. I thought so for several reasons. In the first place, vital as is education everywhere as the instrument by which men and nations rise, yet in a country like India, in its present state of development, it is perhaps the most clamant necessity of all. For here education is required not primarily as the instrument of culture or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things. It is a social and political even more than an intellectual demand; and to it alone can we look to provide a livelihood for our citizens, to train up our public servants, to develop the economic and industrial resources of the country, to fit the people for the share in self-government which is given to them—and which will increase with their deserts,—and to fashion the national character on sound and healthy lines. The man in India who has grasped the educational problem has got nearer to the heart of things than any of his comrades, and he who

can offer to us the right educational prescription is the true physician of the State.

There is another reason for which Education in India is a peculiarly British responsibility. For it was our advent in the country that brought about that social and moral upheaval of which western education is both the symbol and the outcome. As regards religion, we sit as a Government in India

holding no form of creed,
But contemplating all.

We have deliberately severed religion from politics ; and, though we have our own Church or Churches, we refrain, as an act of public policy, from incorporating Church with State. But we do not, therefore, lay down that ethics are or should be divorced from the life of the nation, or that society, because it does not rest upon dogmatic theology, should lose the moral basis without which in all ages it must sooner or later fall to pieces. For education is nothing unless it is a moral force. There is morality in secular textbooks as well as in sacred texts, in the histories and sayings of great men, in the example of teachers, in the contact between teachers and pupils, in the discipline of the class-room, in the emulation of school life. These are the substitutes in our Indian educational system for the oracles of prophets or the teaching of divines. To them we look to make India and its people better and purer. If we thought that our education were not raising the moral level we should none of us bestir ourselves so greatly about it. It is because it is the first and most powerful instrument of moral elevation in India that it must for ever remain a primary care of the State. The State may delegate a portion of the burden to private effort or to missionary enterprise ; but it cannot throw it altogether aside. So long as our Government is in India what it is, we must continue to control and to correlate educational work, to supply a large portion of the outlay, to create the requisite models, and to set the tone.

As soon as I looked about me, but little investigation was required to show, in the words of a familiar quotation, that there was something rotten in the State of Denmark.

For years education in India had been muddling along, with no one to look after it at headquarters or to observe its symptoms, till the men who had given up their lives to it were sick at heart and well-nigh in despair. It was not that splendid and self-sacrificing exertions were not being devoted to the task ; it was not that any class, European or Indian, was indifferent to its claims, for I believe that in India there is a genuine passion for education among all classes ; it was not that there had been deliberate or conscious neglect. But there was a deplorable lack of co-ordination ; there was a vagueness as to fundamental principles ; slackness had crept in, standards had depreciated, and what was wanting was the impulse and movement of a new life. It was for these reasons that I threw myself with a burning zeal into the subject of educational reform. I knew the risks that had to be run—there was not one among them that could be apprehended that has not been incurred. I was aware of all the taunts that would be levelled ; that we should be accused, when we were merely raising a debased standard, of wanting to shut the doors of education in the face of the people ; and, when we felt it our duty to assert the proper control of Government, of desiring to aggrandise the power of the State, and many other equally unfounded charges. But the object seemed to me to be worth the risk. The allies and fellow-workers were there who were only too ready and anxious to join in the struggle, and it merely remained to formulate the plan of action and to go ahead.

For the first two years we surveyed the ground and reconnoitred the position of the opposing forces, and then we began. I look to the meetings of the Simla Conference in the month of September 1901, just four years ago, as the first act in the real campaign. That Conference has often been denounced, by those who knew not the real nature of its labours, as a sort of Star Chamber conclave, that was engaged in some dark and sinister conspiracy. Some of you were present at its meetings, and you know how much of truth there was in that particular charge. I do not hesitate to say that a Conference more independent in its character, more sincere in its aims, or more practical and

far-reaching in its results, never met at the headquarters of the Indian Government. The meeting was a body of experts, non-official as well as official, convened in order to save Government from making mistakes, and to assure me that we were advancing upon right lines. Our programme was laid down in the published speech with which I opened the proceedings. We covered the whole field of educational activity in our researches, and we laid down the clear and definite principles which, so far from being concealed, were published at full length later on in the Education Resolution of March 1904, and which for years to come will guide the policy of the State. Then followed the appointment of a Director-General of Education, most fully justified by the devoted labours, the informed enthusiasm, and the unfailing tact of Mr. Orange. Next in order came the Universities Commission, presided over by my former colleague, Sir T. Raleigh, in 1902. Then followed the Universities legislation of 1903-4, of which, looking back calmly upon it, I say that I do not regret the battle or the storm, since I am firmly convinced that out of them has been born a new life for Higher Education in India. Finally came the comprehensive Resolution of which I have spoken. Since then the policy of reform laid down by the Simla Conference has been carried into execution in every branch of educational effort; until at last the Directors of Public Instruction from every province have been sitting here for a week in conference to compare notes as to what has already been accomplished, and to discuss fresh plans for the future. These are the main landmarks of the great enterprise upon which we have all been employed for so long; and a moment has arrived when it is not impossible to some extent to reckon up the results.

What was the state of affairs that we had to redress? I will try to summarise it. As regards Primary or Elementary Education, *i.e.* education of the children of the masses in the vernaculars, the figures which appeared in the Resolution were sufficiently significant. Four out of every five Indian villages were found to be without a school; three out of every four Indian boys grow up without any education; only one Indian girl in every forty attends any

kind of school. These figures are of course less appalling in a continent of the size, the vast population, the national characteristics, and the present state of advancement of India than they would be in any Western country ; but they are important as illustrating, if not the inadequacy of past efforts, at any rate the immensity of the field that remains to be conquered. We found Primary Education suffering from divergence of views as to its elementary functions and courses, and languishing nearly everywhere for want of funds. In Secondary Education we found schools receiving the privilege of recognition upon most inadequate tests, and untrained and incompetent teachers imparting a course of instruction devoid of life to pupils subjected to a pressure of examinations that encroached upon their out-of-school hours, and was already beginning to sap the brain-power as well as the physical strength of the rising generation. Inferior teaching in Secondary Schools further has this deleterious effect, that it reacts upon College work, and affects the whole course of University instruction, of which it is the basis and starting - point. We found these schools in many cases accommodated in wretched buildings, and possessing no provision for the boarding of the pupils. As regards the vernaculars, which must for long be the sole instrument for the diffusion of knowledge among all except a small minority of the Indian people, we found them in danger of being neglected and degraded in the pursuit of English, and in many cases very bad English, for the sake of its mercantile value. By all means let English be taught to those who are qualified to learn it ; but let it rest upon a solid foundation of the indigenous languages, for no people will ever use another tongue with advantage that cannot first use its own with ease.

But in Higher Education the position was still worse ; for here it was not a question so much of a blank sheet in the education of the community as of a page scribbled over with all sorts of writing, some of it well formed and good, but much of it distorted and wrong. We found in some of the affiliated Colleges a low standard of teaching, and a lower of learning ; ill-paid and insufficient teachers, pupils crowded together in insanitary buildings, the cutting down of fees in

the interests of an evil commercial competition, and management on unsound principles. Finally, coming to the Universities, we found courses of study and a system of tests which were lowering the quality, while steadily increasing the volume, of the human output, students driven like sheep from lecture-room to lecture-room and examination to examination, textbooks badly chosen, degrees pursued for their commercial value, the Senates with overswollen numbers, selected on almost every principle but that of educational fitness, the Syndicates devoid of statutory powers—a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of Cram.

Of course there were better and reassuring features in the picture, and there were parts of the country where the merits greatly exceeded the defects. But we had to correct the worst even more than to stimulate the best, and like a doctor it was our duty to diagnose the unsound parts of the body rather than to busy ourselves with the sound. Moreover, there were some faults that were equally patent everywhere. It is recorded of the Emperor Aurungzeb, after he had seized the throne of the Moghul Empire, that he publicly abused his old tutor for not having prepared him properly for these great responsibilities. "Thus," he said, "did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry, unprofitable, and never-ending task of learning words." That is exactly the fault that we found with every phase of Indian Education as we examined it. Everywhere it was words that were being studied, not ideas. The grain was being spilled and squandered, while the husks were being devoured. I remember a passage in the writings of Herbert Spencer in which he says that to prepare us for complete living is the true function of education. That is a conception which is perhaps as yet beyond the reach of the majority of those whom we are trying to educate in this country. But in the rut into which it had sunk, I doubt if European Education in India, as we were conducting it, could be described as a preparation for living at all, except in the purely materialistic sense, where unhappily it was too true. But of real living, the life of the intellect, the

character, the soul, I fear that the glimpses that were obtainable were rare and dim.

Of course all these tendencies could not be corrected straight away. It would be a futile and arrogant boast to say that we have reformed Indian Education. There is equal scope for educational reformers now, tomorrow, next day, and always. Education is never reformed. It may advance, or remain stationary, or recede. It may also advance on right lines or on wrong lines. Our claim is merely to have rescued it from the wrong track, and given it a fresh start on the right one. If we have set up a few milestones on the path of true progress, we shall have done something for it, and perhaps made further advance easier for our successors.

What I think we may claim to have effected has been the following. In Primary Education we have realised that improvement means money; we have laid down that Primary Education must be a leading charge on provincial revenues; and in order to supply the requisite impetus, we gave in our last Budget a very large permanent annual grant of 35 lakhs to be devoted to that purpose alone. This will be the real starting-point of an advance that ought never to be allowed henceforward to slacken. Most of the money will go in buildings, to begin with, and a good deal in maintenance afterwards. Thousands of new Primary Schools are already opening their doors under these auspices, and in a few years' time the results should be very noteworthy. In building we lay stress upon the provision of suitable and airy school-houses in place of the dark rooms or squalid sheds in which the children had previously been taught. Training schools for teachers are similarly springing up or being multiplied in every direction. We have defined the nature of the object-lessons that ought to be taught to the children in Primary Schools, and the courses of study and the books that are required for the instruction of the cultivating classes. We have everywhere raised the pay of primary teachers where this was inadequate, and are teaching them that their duty is to train the faculties of their pupils, and not to compel them to the listless repetition of phrases in which the poor children find no

meaning. I look as the result to this policy to see a great development in Elementary Education in the near future. It is apt to be neglected in India in favour of the louder calls and the more showy results of Higher Education. Both are equally necessary; but in the structure of Indian society one is the foundation, and the other the coping-stone; and we who are responsible must be careful not to forget the needs of the voiceless masses while we provide for the interests of the more highly favoured minority who are better able to protect themselves.

In Secondary Education the faults were largely the same, and the remedies must be the same also. More teachers are the first desideratum, more competent teachers the second, more inspectors the third. The increase that we have everywhere effected in the inspecting staff is remarkable. Next comes reform in courses of study and buildings. All these necessities are summed up in the duty, which we have undertaken, of laying down sound tests for official recognition. From this we pass on to the development of the commercial and industrial sides of these schools as against the purely literary, since there are thousands of boys in them who must look to their education to provide them with a practical livelihood rather than to lead them to a degree; and above all to the reduction of examinations. That is the keynote everywhere. Have your tests, sift out the good from the bad, furnish the incentive of healthy competition. But remember that the Indian boy is a human being with a mind to be nurtured and a soul to be kept alive; and do not treat him as a mechanical drudge, or as a performing animal which has to go at stated intervals through the unnatural task to which its trainer has laboriously taught it to conform.

I hope that the Government of India will not be indifferent to the claims of Secondary Education in the future. When the Universities and the Colleges have been put straight, we must look to the feeders, and these feeders are the High Schools. Indeed we cannot expect to have good Colleges without good schools. I am not sure, if a vote were taken among the intelligent middle classes of this country, that they would not sooner see money devoted

to Secondary Education than to any other educational object. The reason is that it is the basis of all industrial or professional occupation in India. There is just a danger that between the resonant calls of Higher Education, and the pathetic small voice of Elementary Education, the claims of Secondary Education may be overlooked: and I therefore venture to give it this parting testimonial.

When we come to Higher Education, our policy, though based on identical principles, assumes a wider scope, and has, I hope, already effected an even more drastic change. It is very difficult to carry out substantial reforms in Higher Education in India, because of the suspicion that we encounter among the educated classes that we really desire to restrict their opportunities and in some way or other to keep them down. There is of course no ground whatever for this suspicion. Not only does it run counter to the entire trend of British character, and to all the teachings of British history, but it would be a short-sighted and stupid policy, even if it were adopted. For education, to whatever extent it may be directed or controlled, is essentially an organic, and not an artificial process; and no people, particularly a highly intelligent and ambitious people, like the educated classes in India, could possibly be confined, so to speak, in a particular educational compartment or chamber, because the Government was foolish enough to try and turn the key upon them. What has been in our minds, though it has not always been easy to explain it to others, has been, firstly, the conviction that those who were getting Higher Education were getting the wrong sort of it, because they were merely training the memory at the expense of all the other faculties of the mind, and that it could not be good for a nation that its intellect should be driven into these lifeless and soulless grooves; and, secondly, the belief that reform was to be sought by making educationalists more responsible for Education in every department, giving them power on senates and syndicates, improving the quality of the teaching staff, and providing for the expert inspection of Colleges and schools. Let me put it in a sentence. Higher Education ought not to be run either by politicians or by

amateurs. It is a science—the science of human life and conduct—in which we must give a fair hearing and a reasonable chance to the Professor.

If our reforms are looked at in this light, it will be seen that they are based upon a uniform and logical principle. We swept away the old overgrown Senates or bodies of fellows, and reconstituted them on lines which should make educational interests predominate in the government of the Universities. Similarly we placed experts in the majority on the executive committees or Syndicates. It is these bodies who will draw up the new courses, prescribe the text-books, and frame the future standards of education. Of course they may go wrong, and Government retains the indispensable power of putting them right if they do so. But the initial and principal responsibility is theirs; and if they cannot make a better thing of Higher Education in India, then no one can. Similarly we carry the expert into the *mofussil*. If we are to improve the affiliated institutions, we must first prescribe, as we have done, sound and definite conditions of affiliation, and then we must send round sympathetic inspecting officers to detect local shortcomings, to offer advice, and to see that the new conditions are observed. Simultaneously, if sustained efforts are made, as we are making them, to improve the quality of the teachers, and give them opportunities when on furlough of studying other systems; and if at the other end of the scale we provide for proper entertainment of the boys in well-managed hostels or boarding-houses, then it seems to me that we have created both the constitutional and the academic machinery by which reform can be pursued, and that, if it be not accomplished, it must be for some reason which we have failed to discern. Anyhow I can see nothing in the objects or processes that I have described to which the most sensitive or critical of Indian intelligences need object; and the most hopeful guarantee of success is to be found, in my view, in the fact that the best and most experienced Indian authorities are entirely on our side.

Personally therefore I regard our University legislation and the reform that will spring from it as a decree of emancipation. It is the setting free for the service of Education,

by placing them in authoritative control over Education, of the best intellects and agencies that can be enlisted in the task, and it is the casting off and throwing away of the miserable gyves and manacles that had been fastened upon the limbs of the youth of India, stunting their growth, crippling their faculties, and tying them down. In my view we are entitled to the hearty co-operation of all patriotic Indians in the task, for it is their people that we are working for, and their future that we are trying to safeguard and enlarge. Already I think that this is very widely recognised. The old cries have to a large extent died away, and among the valedictory messages and tributes which I have received in such numbers from native sources during the past few weeks have been many which placed in the forefront the services which I am generously credited with having rendered to the cause of Indian Education. One of the most gratifying features in this renascence in the history of Indian Education, as I hope it may in time deserve to be called, has been the stimulus that has been given to private liberality, showing that Indian Princes and noblemen are keenly alive to the needs of the people, and are in cordial sympathy with the movement that we have striven to inaugurate. The Raja of Nabha called upon the Sikh community to rouse themselves and put the Khalsa College at Amritsar on a proper footing for the education of their sons, and they responded with contributions of 20 lakhs. In Bengal there have been handsome gifts for the proposed new College at Ranchi. The Aligarh Trustees continue to improve their magnificent College, and last year, I believe, achieved a record subscription list in their conference at Lucknow. In the United Provinces the enthusiasm of Sir J. La Touche has kindled a corresponding zeal in others. The College at Barcilly is to be shifted from a corner of the High School buildings to a new building on a fine site given by the Nawab of Rampur. When I was at Lucknow in the spring I saw the site of the new residential College in the Badshah Bagh to which the Maharaja of Bulrampur has given a donation of 3 lakhs. Government has not been behindhand in similar liberality; and apart from the 25 lakhs which we promised and are giving to assist the Universities in the

work of reconstruction, we have assisted the purchase of sites for University buildings in many places, and are prepared to help in other ways. It is a truism in Higher Education as elsewhere that the first condition of progress is money, and this is being provided both by Government and by private effort in no stinted measure.

I might detain you much longer by discussing the various measures that we have taken with regard to other branches of Education in India, for it is to be confessed that the aspirations which I set before myself and before the Simla Conference were not confined to the sphere of Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education alone, but embraced the whole field of educational reform. There is no corner of it where we have not laboured and are not labouring. We have not in our zeal for Indian Education forgotten the cause of European and Eurasian Education in this country. We have revised the Code, we have made a most careful examination of the so-called Hill Schools, and are re-establishing the best among them on an assured basis; we are giving handsome grants-in-aid and scholarships, we are appointing separate inspectors for these institutions, and are starting a special Training College for teachers.

Then there is a class of Education which deserves and has attracted our particular attention, viz. that which is intended to qualify its recipients for the professional occupations of Indian life. Here our Agricultural College at Pusa, which is intended to be the parent of similar institutions in every other province, each equipped with a skilled staff and adequate funds, has been specially devised to provide at the same time a thorough training in all branches of agricultural science and practical instruction in estate management and farm work. These institutions will, I hope, turn out a body of young men who will spread themselves throughout India, carrying into the management of states and estates, into private enterprise and into Government employ, the trained faculties with which their college courses will have supplied them. Agriculture in India is the first and capital interest of this huge continent, and agriculture, like every other money-earning interest, must rest upon Education.

Neither have we forgotten Female Education, conscious

that man is to a large extent what woman makes him, and that an educated mother means educated children. Since the Simla Conference Bengal has already doubled the number of girls under instruction. The female inspecting staff has been overhauled in most provinces, and some ladies possessing high qualifications have been sent out from England. Good model girls' schools and good training schools for the female teachers are a desideratum everywhere. It will take a long time to make substantial progress. But the forward movement has begun.

There remains the subject of Technical Education, which has occupied an immense amount of our attention both at the Simla Conference and ever since. We have had commissions, and reports, and inquiries. We have addressed local Governments and studied their replies. But we are only slowly evolving the principles under which technical instruction can be advantageously pursued in a country where the social and industrial conditions are what they are in India. Whether we look at the upper or at the lower end of the scale, this difficulty is equally apparent. People wonder why Mr. Tata's Institute of Science comes so slowly into being, and in a country where it is the custom to attribute anything that goes wrong to the Government, all sorts of charges have been brought against us of apathy or indifference or obstruction. No one would more readily acknowledge than Mr. Tata himself that, so far from discouragement or opposition, he has met with nothing at the hands of Government but sympathy and support. But Mr. Tata wisely wants not merely to start the magnificent conception of his father, but to make it practical and to ensure its success, and I can assure you that the rival views that prevail as to the best method of accommodating this great idea to the necessities of India are extraordinary. We have experienced similar difficulties in our own smaller undertakings. As is generally known, we have instituted a number of technical scholarships of £150 each for Indian students in Europe and America; but, strange as it may seem, it has not invariably been easy at first to find the candidates qualified to fill them. However, we now have a number of Indian scholars from Bengal who are studying mining at Birming-

ham ; and our latest step was to grant three scholarships for textile industries in Bombay. Other attempts will follow, and in a short time there will, in my view, be no lack either of candidates or subjects. Similarly with Industrial Schools, which we have been anxious to start on a large scale for the practical encouragement of local industries, there is the widest diversity of opinion as to the principles and the type. For it must be remembered that although India is a country with strong traditions of industrial skill and excellence, with clever artisans, and with an extant machinery of trade-guilds and apprentices, these are constituted upon a caste basis which does not readily admit of expansion, while the industries themselves are, as a rule, localised and small, rendering co-ordination difficult. We are, however, about to make an experiment on a large scale in Bombay and Bengal, and I have every hope that upon the labours and researches of the past few years posterity will be able to build.

Upon these and many other subjects I might discourse to you at length. But you are better acquainted with them than I am, and I have addressed myself to-day not so much to details as to the principles that have underlain the great movement of educational activity upon which we have together been engaged. To you and to your successors I must now commit the task. It is a work which may well engage your best faculties, and be the proud ambition of a life-time. On the stage where you are employed there is infinite scope for administrative energy, and, what is better, for personal influence ; while in the background of all your labours stands the eternal mystery of the East, with its calm and immutable traditions, but its eager and passionate eyes. What the future of Indian Education may be neither you nor I can tell. It is the future of the Indian race, in itself the most hazardous though absorbing of speculations. As I dream of what Education in India is to be or become, I recall the poet's lines :—

Where lies the land to which the ship would go ?
Far far ahead is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from ? Away
Far far behind is all that they can say.

In the little space of navigable water for which we are responsible between the mysterious past and the still more mysterious future, our duty has been to revise a chart that was obsolete and dangerous, to lay a new course for the vessel, and to set her helm upon the right tack.

EURASIANS

ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION, CALCUTTA

A DEPUTATION from the Anglo-Indian Association (representing the domiciled Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Community throughout India) was received by the Viceroy at Calcutta, on March 23, 1900. He spoke as follows:—

Since I received an address from your Association more than a year ago, shortly after I had taken up my present office, I can truthfully say that the appeals and claims and prospects of the community which you represent have occupied a good deal of my attention. I never fail to read, or to study, anything that bears upon the subject, or to converse with those who are qualified to give me useful information. These efforts on my part to arrive at the truth, and to analyse the difficult problem of your future, rest upon the double basis of personal sympathy—since no man with a heart can fail to be touched by the misfortunes of a community, partly, if not mainly, of his own race, who appear to have fallen upon hard times,—and of political interest—since no Viceroy of India can be indifferent to the fortunes of a section of the population, increasing in numbers, but apparently not increasing *pari passu* in wealth, contentment, or opportunity. Every Viceroy from Lord Canning downwards has gazed at the problem, and has been left sympathetic but puzzled. Some, like Lord Lytton, have tried to do something positive. Others have felt the difficulty of State intervention. That I am receiving you to-day is, I hope, an evidence that I am not anxious to be included in the passive category, or to bow you out with a compliment and a smile. Nothing would have been easier for me than to acknowledge your representations, and to

have returned the civil but stereotyped reply that they will receive the careful consideration of Government. Of that reception they are in any case certain. But if I go beyond, and consent, as I have consented, to meet you here to-day, and to listen to a statement of your troubles from the lips of your accredited spokesmen, and if I refrain from the language of mere perfunctory politeness in reply, then I must claim the liberty to speak to you with perfect candour, conscious that you will not resent anything that is said to you in good faith and with sincerely friendly intentions, and that it is bad policy for the Government of India and the community which you represent to go on misunderstanding each other for ever, as they will continue to do if both parties evade the real issues, and show no inclination to grapple with the facts.

Now I observe that the Society which you represent has recently acquired a new name, and is designated the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association. The choice of this name is the latest phase in a long contention over the question of the nomenclature that it would be best and wisest for you to adopt. In the various stages of this discussion, I find that the names Eurasians, East Indians, Indo-Britons, Statutory Natives of India, Domiciled British and Europeans, have all at one time or another been, and to some extent still are, employed. Though I myself think that controversies over nomenclature are the most barren of all human disputes—since in the long run the world judges men not by what they call themselves, but by what they are—yet it would appear that this has been regarded as a most vital question by many of your number, and that almost as much energy has been expended upon it as upon the practical discussion of the future. I may be short-sighted; but I do not myself see why there should be any deep and insidious sting—these are the words which I have found in the utterances or writings of more than one of your spokesmen—in the name Eurasian as applied to persons of mixed blood or descent—though I am far from contending that I have any right to expect my views to be shared by any one else,—nor do I understand the great and widespread anxiety to discover a new label. Above all, I am

compelled to say that if I were to judge by the natural meaning of words, I should have no idea of what the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association could mean. Anglo-Indian is a phrase which is applied in popular acceptance to a particular individual and society, British as a rule in origin, which spends its life, official, professional, or otherwise, in India, and as a rule finally goes home. Thus when we speak of Anglo-Indian officials, judges, clubs, newspapers, opinion, and so on, everybody understands exactly what is meant. You have a perfect right to take the same name if you please, and to some extent it covers the component elements of your Society. But I am not certain that you do not rather confuse some of your friends and well-wishers by adopting a designation that in popular parlance means something else, whilst the title certainly does not become any the more—on the contrary, I think that it becomes the less—intelligible by having the epithet Imperial prefixed to it. True and loyal and devoted sons of the Empire we know you, and your history has shown you to be. But so are we all; and why your Society should especially require the adjective Imperial to describe it I have never seen explained. But there is another result of the expression of your designation and composition which is of more practical consequence. I believe that you desire in the main to call attention to the claims and to focus the aspirations of what has hitherto been called the Eurasian community, although there is also the case of many English or European families domiciled, perhaps born and bred, in the country, whose blood has never been commingled with a native strain, but whose interests you desire equally to promote. But the result of this very elastic classification appears to me to be not clearness but confusion; since, when you make your demands, that which applies to your constituents at one pole, bears little or no relation to those who are at the other. The arguments from race do not, for instance, apply to the domiciled Europeans; and the interests, and employment, and prospects of the latter depend upon conditions wholly apart from those that retard the advance of the man of mixed descent. Your Society, in fact, as at present constituted, rests upon two bases which

have *a priori* little in common with each other, viz., domicile and race; and the considerations that are apposite in the one case, are often irrelevant in the other. Whilst, therefore, by casting your net so wide, you no doubt envelop a larger haul of fish, I am less confident that you advance the general interests of your clients, which is, after all, the main object for which you exist.

I have only one other word of advice to give before I pass on to an examination of your specific claims. If I were one of your Directors, I almost think that in the interests of your cause I should move a motion for a withdrawal of the pamphlet in which you bring your case before the public. The case has so much to recommend it in its intrinsic features that it seems a pity that it should be weakened by exaggeration and by declamation, since such an attitude cannot but prejudice your chances. To suggest that the Government of India and the India Office are engaged in a deep and malignant conspiracy to deprive you of your birth-right, that they desire, or that any one else desires, to stamp upon you the brand of inferiority or subordination, or that as a community you are hunted down and proscribed—phrases which very fairly represent the spirit of some of your publications—is, in my judgment, very ill-judged and quite untrue. Such statements are sufficient to set people against you. Your object should be to attract, not to alienate, public support; and you will do this by sober reasoning, and not by angry rhetoric. There are pages of the pamphlet in which your claims are fairly and moderately stated. This seems to be the case when you are engaged upon a Deputation, as you have been this afternoon. But when you are talking among yourselves, you seem, if I may say so without offence, to boil over in a rather superfluous fashion; and on such occasions things are said which, I am afraid, would hardly stand the test of a critical examination.

There is another suggestion that I would make in passing. Who are your clients and what are their numbers? I observe that in the pamphlet they are represented by one of the speakers, whose words are reported, as being over a million strong. On the other hand, in an able essay that I read the other day upon the Eurasian question by a Mr.

Nundy, which I would commend to the careful attention of every one here present, I find that the total of that community was estimated by the writer as 120,000. There is a wide margin between these two extremes. Of whom does this margin consist? When you call yourselves Anglo-Indians, do you include Englishmen who are not permanently domiciled in India? Do you include domiciled foreigners of other races, and, if so, how can they be termed Anglo-Indians? And do you embrace Eurasians of, for instance, Portuguese descent, and, if so, how can they fall into the Anglo-Indian category? Would it not be well to let the public know who, and of what numerical strength, are the various classes for whom you plead, and who are included under the common heading which you have decided to adopt?

From these preliminary observations, which, if they have been critical in character, have assuredly not been unfriendly in intention, I pass to an examination of the specific proposals which have, from time to time, been put forward by your spokesmen, and the majority of which have been repeated in the statements to which I have just listened.

The first of these is the proposal to employ Eurasians on a larger scale in the Indian Army by the constitution of a special regiment or regiments enlisted from that class. Of course, as it is, Eurasians are frequently accepted as recruits, a point as to which it would be well if your spokesmen in the pamphlet agreed with each other; for, whereas one of them states that thousands have been so admitted, another declares that this admission on sufferance, which he implies to be rarely exercised, is an insult to your people. Now, in this context, I frequently see mention made of the loyalty and bravery shown by Eurasians during the Mutiny—and of this fact there cannot be a shadow of a doubt—and by the Eurasian Corps that were raised in that time. But it does not follow therefrom that the Corps were a success; and, as a matter of fact, they were all disbanded between 1860 and 1870, on the grounds that they were as costly as a British force, that the same confidence was not reposed in them, and that there were not sufficient recruits forthcoming (I think this a very remarkable and dispiriting

reflection) to maintain a total strength of only 700 men. Nevertheless, at intervals ever since the proposal has been made or revived that the experiment in some form or another should be repeated ; for there have never been wanting friends of your cause in the Government of India, who have been anxious to find what opportunity they could for the employment of a class that has so large a claim upon our sympathy. The formation of a regiment is, however, I need hardly say, in the main, a military question ; and when I add that the last five Commanders-in-Chief of the Army in India without exception—and I believe that the series extends unbroken to an even more distant period—have been opposed to the experiment, you will perhaps understand how it is that it has not greatly prospered. It was proposed at one time that a company of garrison artillery should be raised from Eurasians ; but the first artillery soldier in India of the day, who happened to be in high office,¹ declined to support the scheme on the ground that it would be more expensive and less efficient than a corresponding European force. When I arrived in India, these topics were still under discussion, and I am happy to have been instrumental in sending, with the assistance of some of my colleagues who shared my desire to help you, a despatch to the Secretary of State last year, in which we proposed the experimental raising of a Eurasian regiment in India. This is the first time, I believe, that such a proposal has ever gone home with the assent of a majority of the Government of India. The Secretary of State, who has quite recently replied, has been unable to accept our proposal ; and I see no reason why you should not be acquainted with the main reasons. The initial cost of such a regiment would be $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, the annual recurring cost $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs ; and it has been felt unfair to place this increase of burden upon the Indian taxpayer, unless a responsible assurance could be given that there would be a commensurate increase in our military strength. So far this assurance has not been forthcoming. There were also subsidiary difficulties about the scale of pay, not merely in the Military, but also, as a probable consequence, in the

¹ Sir Charles Nairne, Acting Commander-in-Chief.

Civil services, and about the necessity for legislation, since Europeans in India cannot be enlisted for local service without the passing of a Bill through the British Parliament, a fence which even friendly Secretaries of State sometimes find it difficult to surmount. Such has been the fate that has attended our proposal. I am sorry that it has not fared better. But you will do well to look facts in the face, and to realise that Governments are compelled to regard this question to a large extent from the utilitarian point of view ; and that, until you can convince them that a Eurasian regiment, which would cost quite as much as, if not more than, a British regiment, will be at least as efficient for military purposes, they are hardly likely to give it to you for the sake of sentiment, or even of political expediency alone. As regards the subsidiary suggestion which you have submitted this afternoon for the formation of a Eurasian Army Hospital Corps, the same difficulties apply. Eurasians could never serve for the rates of pay that are now given to the native equivalent ; nor could the subordinate duties, such as those of the *bhistis*, bearers, and sweepers, be carried out by a Eurasian Corps. The long and the short of it is that, for the present at any rate, the objections to Eurasian enlistment in the regular army are held at home to outweigh the advantages. I would gladly reverse this current of opinion if I could. But it rests, believe me, not upon any prejudice or hostility—there is not a trace of that—but upon expert advice which it is difficult to contest or to overturn. At the same time, if you were to submit your proposals as to an Army Hospital Corps in a definite and intelligible shape, I shall be prepared to place them before the Military Authorities, though I can give you no assurance as to the reception that they may meet with.

I pass to the question of the employment of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians upon Railways. Last year, I caused a letter to be addressed to the Presidents of the various associations throughout India that represent your cause, drawing their attention to the great opening that appears to be present to your community for employment, notably in the Traffic, Locomotive, and Engineering Departments, and to the meagre advantage that has so far been taken of

higher standard of moral and financial obligation than has ever before been recognised or acted upon in this or any country.

If, indeed, a special characteristic should be attributed to our campaign of famine relief in the first year, it has been its unprecedented liberality. There is no parallel in the history of India, or in that of any country in the world, to the total of over six million persons who, in British India and the Native States, have for weeks on end been dependent upon the charity of Government. Let me compare these figures with those of the preceding famine.

In 1897 the high-water mark of relief was reached in the second fortnight of May, when there were nearly 4 million persons on relief in British India. Taking the affected population at 40 millions, the ratio of relief was 10 per cent. In one district of Madras, and in two districts of the North-Western Provinces, the ratio for some months was about 30 per cent; but these were exceptional cases. In the most distressed districts of the Central Provinces, 15 or 16 per cent was regarded in 1896-7 as a very high standard of relief. Now take the figures of the present year. For some weeks in June and July, upwards of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million persons were on relief in British India. Reckoned on a population of, say, 25 millions, the ratio of relief was 18 per cent as compared with 10 per cent in 1897. In many districts the proportion exceeded 20 per cent. In several it exceeded 30 per cent. In two districts it exceeded 40 per cent. In the small district of Merwara, where famine has been present for two years, 75 per cent of the population has been on relief. Nothing that I might say can intensify the simple eloquence of these figures.

The next test that I apply is that of the number of officers whom we have lent both to British districts and to Native States to reinforce the overworked, and in many cases undermanned, local establishments. From the Army 84 Staff Corps officers, 17 native officers, 10 British non-commissioned officers and privates, and 228 native non-commissioned officers and privates, have been deputed for periods of various length to famine duty in British India and Native States. They have done excellent work. Including

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higher standard of moral and financial obligation than has ever before been recognised or acted upon in this or any country.

If, indeed, a special characteristic should be attributed to our campaign of famine relief in the first year, it has been its unprecedented liberality. There is no parallel in the history of India, or in that of any country in the world, to the total of over six million persons who, in British India and the Native States, have for weeks on end been dependent upon the charity of Government. Let me compare these figures with those of the preceding famine.

In 1897 the high-water mark of relief was reached in the second fortnight of May, when there were nearly 4 million persons on relief in British India. Taking the affected population at 40 millions, the ratio of relief was 10 per cent. In one district of Madras, and in two districts of the North-Western Provinces, the ratio for some months was about 30 per cent; but these were exceptional cases. In the most distressed districts of the Central Provinces, 15 or 16 per cent was regarded in 1896-7 as a very high standard of relief. Now take the figures of the present year. For some weeks in June and July, upwards of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million persons were on relief in British India. Reckoned on a population of, say, 25 millions, the ratio of relief was 18 per cent as compared with 10 per cent in 1897. In many districts the proportion exceeded 20 per cent. In several it exceeded 30 per cent. In two districts it exceeded 40 per cent. In the small district of Merwara, where famine has been present for two years, 75 per cent of the population has been on relief. Nothing that I might say can intensify the simple eloquence of these figures.

The next test that I apply is that of the number of officers whom we have lent both to British districts and to Native States to reinforce the overworked, and in many cases undermanned, local establishments. From the Army 84 Staff Corps officers, 17 native officers, 10 British non-commissioned officers and privates, and 228 native non-commissioned officers and privates, have been deputed for periods of various length to famine duty in British India and Native States. They have done excellent work. Including

the above, the total number of public officials deputed from civil and military employ to famine duty has amounted to 637. Among these were 35 assistant surgeons, and 141 hospital assistants, 44 civil engineers, 10 Royal Engineers, and 24 Public Works subordinates. Large as these numbers were, we would gladly have sent more, had the men been forthcoming. Since the famine began, I cannot recall ever having refused an application, if it was possible to grant it. We literally scoured the remaining provinces of India for the loan of men, and with great generosity, wherever practicable, their Governments responded to the appeal. After my return from Guzerat, we collected and sent down a large number of additional hospital assistants, of whom I had noted a regrettable paucity, to Bombay. Similarly, in the Native States, as the Chiefs and Durbars have repeatedly acknowledged, it has only been owing to the administrative knowledge, the unflagging energy, and the devotion of the British officers whom we have lent to them, that they have escaped a disastrous breakdown.

My third test is that of financial outlay. The direct expenditure on famine relief in British India, and in Berar, from the commencement of relief operations up to the end of August, has been 854 lakhs of rupees. We estimate a further expenditure of about 150 lakhs up to the 31st March next, making in all, in round numbers, about 10 crores of rupees. In loans and advances to landholders and cultivators we have expended 238 lakhs. We have made advances for plough cattle and for agricultural operations this autumn free of interest, and on very easy terms as to eventual repayment; and our expectation is that not more than one-half will be recovered. In the matter of land revenue, our latest estimate is that, of a demand of 392 lakhs in the Central Provinces and Bombay, 164 lakhs will be uncollected during the year. In the distressed districts of the Punjab, suspensions aggregating 41 lakhs are anticipated. With these figures I compare those for the famine of 1896-7, calling attention, however, to the fact that, in 1896-7, the area and population in British India affected by famine were considerably larger than in the present year. The total direct expenditure on famine relief

was 727 lakhs of rupees ; 130 lakhs were advanced as *takavi* ; and land revenue to the amount of about two crores was suspended. In this comparison, our further outlay in connection with relief in Native States has been omitted, for the reason that, in 1896-7, the calls upon us in that respect were insignificant. In the present famine, our loans to Native States in Rajputana have amounted to 69 lakhs of rupees ; to Native States in the Bombay Presidency we have lent 78 lakhs of rupees, besides guaranteeing the repayment of loans to the amount of 105 lakhs of rupees borrowed by other States in the market. We have also come to the assistance of the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose extensive dominions have suffered from severe drought. In all, our actual loans to Native rulers in connection with the present famine amount, in the aggregate, to over $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores. This is exclusive of the guaranteed loans. Without this assistance it may be safely said that the States would have been wholly unequal to the task of relieving their subjects, and even, in some cases, of carrying on the ordinary administration of their territories.

I now pass to an examination of the methods of famine relief which we have adopted. In one respect they have differed materially from those of the preceding famine. Profiting by its lessons, we have learned to apply a much more flexible system. Thus, in 1897, the effective relief of the aboriginal races in the Central Provinces was regarded as an insoluble problem. They suffered and perished in their jungles. This year, congenial work and extensive gratuitous relief were provided for them in the forests, and the Gonds and Baigas have survived with no exceptional mortality. Again, whereas in 1897 there was a terrible mortality in the Central Provinces when the rains set in, owing to the abrupt closing of relief works without a simultaneous expansion of home or village relief, in the present year we have scattered broadcast over the country an extensive system of kitchen relief, upon which, while no one disputes its general necessity or its success, the only criticism that has been passed is that it has erred on the side of liberality, and has been abused by able-bodied persons who preferred to be fed for nothing in the kitchens to earning their own livelihood in the fields. In 1897, the complaint was one of parsimony and lack of

preparation. If we have now, in some cases, gone too far in the opposite direction, some allowance must be made for the natural recoil from earlier mistakes.

Guzerat supplies another instance of the degree in which we have accentuated and added to the flexibility of the Famine Code. When the great outbreak of cholera had disorganised the large relief works and had driven the terrified workers away to their homes, and when extraordinarily high death-rates revealed the existence of very widespread destitution and suffering, the Government of India did not hesitate to advise the Bombay Government to meet the situation by enlarging the customary bounds of gratuitous relief, and by opening petty village works to take the place of the deserted Public Works relief camps. The effect of this policy was that, whereas in the middle of May the number of persons on gratuitous relief in the five districts of Guzerat was little more than 50,000, at the end of June it had risen to 150,000, at the end of July to 308,000, and by the middle of August to 385,000, the last figure representing more than 12 per cent of the entire population of those districts. Before the present famine, such a percentage would have been regarded as a flagrant abuse of famine relief. We were, however, satisfied that a strict adherence to the labour-test principle would, in June and July last, have failed to meet the very special set of circumstances created by the cholera outbreak in Guzerat, and I have no doubt that the satisfactory decline in the death-rate was largely due to the policy adopted.

In drawing attention, however, to the greater liberality of relief that has been practised, the question may be asked whether it was, after all, only due to the superior intensity of this year's famine, or whether it has denoted greater efficiency and perfection of method, or has perhaps only been the result of promiscuous and thoughtless charity. Some part of it must, no doubt, be attributed to the greater severity of the recent distress which I have already demonstrated. Upon the second head we may safely claim to have profited by experience in the improvement of our relief arrangements, and in their more accurate adaptation to the special circumstances of different districts, the special

requirements of different classes, and the different seasons of the year. No critic would dispute this proposition. As regards the third point, it is not without a smile that, while I now read in some quarters that the conditions of relief, notably in respect of kitchen relief in the Central Provinces, have been relaxed to a dangerous and demoralising degree, I remember that, nine months ago, the Government of India were being assailed for the alleged stringency and harshness of the warnings that they had given in the Circular of December 1899. Looking back upon our entire experience, I have now no hesitation in saying that our warning note was well timed and was wisely issued. Our inquiry was followed by a very salutary re-organisation of relief works in the Central Provinces and elsewhere, by large additions in all provinces to the superior famine staff, and by considerable improvements in the supervision and conduct of relief measures. One of its results was the exposure of the inadequacy of the superior staff, and of the dangers which were certain to ensue if this were not rectified. It was in consequence of this discovery that we offered the substantial help, in respect of Staff Corps Officers, Medical Officers, officers drafted from the Postal, Salt, and Police Departments, and Engineers, of which I have already spoken.

I should like to add that, in my opinion, there was no inconsistency between the position taken up by the Government of India in the first months of the famine and their subsequent attitude in permitting a vast expansion of gratuitous relief during the rains in the Central Provinces, and in counselling the Government of Bombay to relax the conditions of relief in Guzerat, when cholera had disorganised the large works. Conditions are radically different at the beginning and at the height of a famine; and a degree of firmness at the outset is essential, which would, at a later stage, be altogether out of place. If this be borne in mind, our policy will, on examination, prove to have been consistent throughout. On the one hand, we have set our face against indiscriminate and pauperising charity, and have endeavoured to insist on relief being administered with the care and method which we owe to the taxpayer and to the exchequer.

On the other hand, we have been prepared to accept any expenditure of which it could be shown that it was required to save life, or to mitigate genuine distress. The only intelligent, and the only possible, policy is based on these two principles. There is no contradiction between them. No famine has ever been, or ever will be, successfully administered, that does not exhibit, according to the point from which it is scrutinised, the opposite characteristics of strictness and leniency, or that is not open to the charge—if charges are to be brought—of being at different moments profuse and grudging.

Nevertheless, we may still be asked whether we are quite satisfied that the abnormal mortality in Guzerat, the widespread misery described by competent observers, and the temporary breakdown of the relief machinery in that part, were not due to any fault in our initial instructions. That the mortality was very great cannot be denied. In Broach the monthly death-rate rose from 2.96 per mille in October 1899, to 24.83 in May 1900. In the Panch Mahals, the death-rate for the same month of May was 46.60 per mille ; in Kaira 21.07 ; in Ahmedabad 24. These rates include deaths from cholera, a most virulent wave of which swept over Guzerat in April ; although it is impossible to distinguish accurately between the mortality for which cholera was directly responsible, and that which was due to other diseases, to debility, to privations, and to the temporary disorganisation of the camps. I have seen the Report of a special inquiry which has just been conducted into the Guzerat mortality by the Sanitary Commissioner to the Bombay Government. He specifies no fewer than eight causes for the excessive death-rate in that district. They were—insufficient and unwholesome food ; resort to Rangoon rice and other unaccustomed grains ; bad cooking and bad water ; the physical softness of a people who had never previously experienced famine ; the unwillingness of certain classes, such as the Bhils and herdsmen, to apply for relief ; and the vagabond instincts of large sections of the population. Some of these causes were preventible or reducible ; the majority were not. If a perfect relief system is anywhere attainable, it is obvious that it is more likely to be

realised in a district where the people are already acquainted with the principles of relief, and where they feel no natural reluctance to avail themselves of it. Neither of those conditions was present in Guzerat. The rapidity and completeness of the calamity took the people by surprise; the weakness and incapacity for resistance of the people took the Local Government by surprise. Had there been greater previous experience in either respect, the results might have been modified. The failure was certainly not due to any antecedent orders on the part of Government, or to any parsimony in the scheme of relief. On the contrary, the actual cost of relief per head in Bombay exceeded the cost-rate in other parts of India. While, therefore, I feel that the excessive mortality in Guzerat is a phenomenon of which it is difficult to give a full explanation, and which may still call for further inquiry, I think that a good deal of weight should be attached, in a comparison, for instance, between Guzerat and the Central Provinces, to the different temperaments of the afflicted populations, and to their relative familiarity or unfamiliarity with relief methods.

If we examine the death-rate elsewhere, we shall find that, in the Central Provinces, it remained satisfactorily low until the concluding months of the famine. Excluding epidemic disease, the provincial rate for April was only 3.25 per mille, and for May 3.42 per mille. These were the worst months in Guzerat. In June, the rate (excluding cholera and small-pox, which carried off 23,000 persons) rose to 4 per mille, and in some parts was higher. In July it rose to 5.35 per mille, while some districts showed a local rate of from 7 to 10 per mille. In August, the death-rate in one district rose to no less than 15.21 per mille. It is a curious fact, however, that this high mortality was not accompanied by any exterior evidence of starvation or even of emaciation. The people in fact did not die of want of food, but from the sudden change in climatic conditions which occurs during and after the rains.

In the Punjab the mortality statistics exhibit much the same features as in the Central Provinces, though in a slightly less degree. In Hissar, where the death-rate has

been highest, it has never exceeded 8 per mille, excluding cholera. The result of my examination has been to show that relief has been fully and sufficiently given in the Punjab, and that there has been no mortality from starvation, or even from direct privation, save in the case of wanderers from Native States, who arrived in too debilitated a condition to be saved.

In Berar the death-rate has been generally moderate, except in two districts adjoining the Nizam's Dominions, where there was much pauper emigration across the border. In the last weeks of the hot weather the mortality rose everywhere, especially in those two districts; but no one has been found to suggest that it was due to any deficiency of relief.

I do not speak of the mortality in the Native States, which has, in many cases, been shocking, because the Government of India cannot be held responsible for a system which it does not control, and because my sole desire has been, while stating the best, and admitting the worst, that can be said about our own methods, to ascertain how far the latter have justified themselves, or are capable of amendment. Broadly speaking, it may be said that no endeavours which it is in the power of the most philanthropic or generous of Governments to put forward will avail to prevent an increase of mortality during a severe famine. No relief system in the world will counteract the effects of reduced food supply, cessation of wages, high prices, and break-up of homes, among millions of people, or will prevent famine from being attended by its twin sister, pestilence.

When, however, I read the records of earlier famines, and compare their results with this, I do feel some cause for satisfaction. We are sometimes told of the wonderful things that happened in India before the days of British rule, and are invited, in most unhistorical fashion, to regard it as a Saturnian age. I have looked up the statistics of the last great famine that occurred in Bengal, while that province was still under Native administration. This was in the year 1770. I speak of local administration, because, although the Diwani of Bengal had been assumed by the

Company a few years before, the latter had not yet taken over the civil administration, which remained in the hands of the former Native officers of the Delhi Government. Throughout the summer of that year it is on record that the husbandmen sold their cattle ; they sold their implements of agriculture ; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyer of children could be found ; they ate the leaves of trees, and the grass of the field ; and, when the height of the summer was reached, the living were feeding on the dead. The streets of the cities were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dead and dying ; even the dogs and jackals could not accomplish their revolting work. Disease attacked the starving and shelterless survivors, and swept them off by hundreds of thousands. Before the end of May, 1770, one-third of the population was officially calculated to have disappeared ; in June the deaths were returned as 6 is to 16 of the whole inhabitants ; and it was estimated that one-half of the cultivators must perish. Two years later Warren Hastings, who had assumed the Government of Bengal on behalf of the British power, stated the entire loss as at least one-third of the inhabitants, and subsequent calculations revealed that the failure of this single crop, in the single province of Bengal, had carried off, within nine months, no fewer than ten, out of less than thirty millions of human beings.

After this appalling record of what famine meant in India a century ago, it was almost with a sense of relief that I read the other day, in a manifesto issued by an English M.P. to his constituents, whom I may observe in passing that he no longer represents, that "Lord George Hamilton and Lord Curzon have looked helplessly on, while two millions of human beings have perished of starvation and disease in India." Had this statement been true, however damaging to the Secretary of State or to myself, it would yet have pointed an extraordinary contrast between the methods and results of 1900 and those of the eighteenth century. But that it is not true is known to every intelligent person in England and in this country. Every man, woman, and child who have perished in India in the present famine has been a burden upon my heart, and upon that of

Government. Their sufferings have never been absent from our thoughts. It cannot truthfully be said, even by the most envenomed of opponents, that we have looked helplessly on. On the contrary, I fearlessly claim, and I challenge contradiction, that there has never been a famine when the general mortality has been less, when the distress has been more amply or swiftly relieved, or when Government and its officers have given themselves with a more whole-hearted devotion to the saving of life and the service of the people.

What the actual mortality may have been it is impossible to tell with complete accuracy. At a later date the forthcoming census will throw useful light upon the problem. At the same time, from a comparison of the normal death-rate of the famine-stricken districts in British India, with which alone, of course, I am competent to deal, with the death-rate throughout the twelve months' duration of the drought, we can ascertain that there has been an excess mortality of 750,000, or three-quarters of a million persons. But, out of this total, we also know that cholera and small-pox have accounted for a recorded mortality of 230,000, figures which are admitted to be below the mark. Making this deduction, therefore, we arrive at an excess mortality of half a million in British India, more or less attributable to the famine conditions of the year. To say that the greater part of these have died of starvation, or even of destitution, would be an unjustifiable exaggeration; since we know that many other contributory causes have been at work, while the figures include the deaths of immigrants from Native States, for which our administration cannot be held responsible. When, further, it is remembered that this total is not more than 2 per cent of the entire population in the tracts to which it applies, it will be obvious that no very remarkable depopulation has occurred, and it will be recognised that it is with ample justification that I give the assurance that, in the entire history of Indian famines, while none has been more intense, in none have the deaths been so few.

So far my remarks have been confined almost exclusively to what has been done in the recent famine in British India. I must add a few words about the Native States,

many of which have been affected in a scarcely inferior degree to our own territories. As I indicated a year ago, while we have sedulously refrained from assuming the direct responsibility for famine relief in those areas, and have shrunk from any unsolicited interference with Native administration, we have yet, in the discharge of our duty as the paramount Power, and in the interests of the States themselves, tendered them constant advice, have lent them competent officers, have made them liberal loans, and have supplied co-ordination and system to their methods of relief. On the whole, we may congratulate ourselves upon the success that has attended these efforts. In a few States the duty of succouring their subjects has been so neglected by the Durbars as to need strong interference ; and in others the good intentions of rulers have been frustrated by the dishonesty and peculation of subordinate officials, who could not resist turning even the starvation of their fellow-creatures to their own profit. But, in the majority of cases, the Chiefs have shown a most laudable disposition to accept our methods of relief, in so far as their resources and the agency at their command permitted. In some of the Rajputana States, especially in Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikanir, and Kishengarh, the arrangements have been admirably planned and carried out by the rulers themselves, and have aroused the admiration of persons familiar with the famine system of British provinces. Surveying the Native States as a whole, we may say that there has been an awakening to the call of philanthropic duty which has been most gratifying.

Nevertheless, the difference of the standards in vogue may be judged from a comparison of the figures on relief in the two areas. In Bikanir and Jodhpur, for instance, the numbers relieved in any month never exceeded 6 per cent of the nominal population, while in the British districts of Ajmer-Merwara, 25 per cent of the population were for months on relief. Even in the States under the Bombay Government, in which, for various reasons, the initiative and supervision of the Political Officers were more in evidence than in Central India and Rajputana, the scale of relief was very different from that in Guzerat. In

Kathiawar the numbers on relief never exceeded 13 per cent of the population. In Palanpur they reached but did not exceed 15 per cent in one month alone. In the same month (July 1900) one-third of the aggregate population of the four distressed districts of Guzerat was on relief. The two great States of Baroda and Hyderabad flank the Bombay territory on the north and east. In Hyderabad and Baroda the numbers on relief never rose to 5 per cent of the nominal population; and yet both States were visited by drought and famine not less severely than the adjoining districts of the Bombay Presidency. Meanwhile, the difference in the standards of relief was further testified by the eagerness with which thousands of fugitives streamed across the border from Native States into British territory, where they passed themselves off as British subjects, in the hope of enjoying the superior wages and comforts of our relief works, our poor-houses, and our hospitals.

I do not dwell on this point in order to disparage the efforts, in many cases most praiseworthy, made by Native States to relieve their people; but simply because the difference between the standard of relief, at which we have by degrees arrived, and the standard of relief recognised as liberal in the best managed Native State, is one of the elementary facts of famine experience. We may gladly admit that more has been done for their people by the Chiefs and rulers of Rajputana on this occasion than in any other historic famine. There are many bright examples of benevolence and humanity. The Maharaja of Jaipur has extended his princely munificence not only to his own people, but to India at large. There is the instance of the late Maharaja of Kishengarh, who, though suffering from a mortal illness, took the keenest interest in the relief arrangements of his State, and never once alluded to his own ill-health. There is also the case of the wife of Maharaja Pertab Singh of Jodhpur, who, not content with opening an orphanage, resided there herself in order to superintend it. These instances, and their number might easily be increased, show the spirit with which the famine has been faced in Rajputana by some, at least, of its rulers. As for the people, they have borne their trials,

as the Indian people always do, with exemplary fortitude and resignation.

I now pass to the subject of the charitable help which has been rendered to us in our long struggle, from so many quarters, in so many parts of the world. An impression appears to prevail that, on the present occasion, this assistance has been scant and disappointing. I do not share these views. Looking to the circumstances in which our appeal has been made, and even accepting the test of comparison with the famine of 1896-7, I still hold that the amount contributed has been munificent, while its utility can scarcely be overrated. In 1896-7 the total collections amounted to 170 lakhs, of which 10 lakhs remained over at the beginning of the recent famine. In the present year the Central Relief Committee has received a sum of close upon 140 lakhs, or not far short of one million sterling.

Analysing the subscriptions, I find that India has contributed about the same amount to the fund as in 1896-7; that is to say, about 32 lakhs. If the contributions from the European community are deducted, India may be considered to have contributed at the outside less than one-fifth of the total collections of 140 lakhs. More might have been expected from the Native community as a whole, notwithstanding individual examples of remarkable generosity. The little Colony of the Straits Settlements, for instance, which has no connection with India beyond that of sentiment, has given more than the whole of the Punjab. A careful observation of the figures and proceedings in each province compels me to say that, in my opinion, Native India has not yet reached as high a standard of practical philanthropy or charity as might reasonably be expected. Though private wealth in India is not widely distributed, its total volume is considerable. If Englishmen in all parts of the world can be found, as they have been found, twice in three years, willing to contribute enormous sums for the relief of India, on the sole ground that its people are the suffering fellow-subjects of the same Queen, it surely behoves the more affluent of the Native community not to lag behind in the succour of those who are of their own race and creed.

The collections from abroad have amounted to 108 lakhs, as against 137 lakhs in 1896-7. The United Kingdom's contribution of 88½ lakhs compares indifferently with the contribution of 123 lakhs in 1896-7, but, in the circumstances of the year, it is a noble gift. The City of Glasgow has been especially generous, with a donation of 8½ lakhs, and Liverpool with 4½, in addition to nearly 16 lakhs from the rest of Lancashire. Australasia has given nearly 8 lakhs in place of the 2 lakhs sent in 1896-7. The Straits Settlements, Ceylon, and Hong Kong have also been extremely generous. Even Chinese native officials have collected handsome sums on behalf of the Fund. The liberal donation of Germany, at the instigation of the Emperor, has already been publicly acknowledged. Finally, the United States of America, both through direct contributions to the Fund, and by means of privately distributed gifts of money and grain, have once more shown their vivid sympathy with England's mission, and with India's need.

I pass to the mode in which the Famine Fund has been distributed. The formation of the Fund was accompanied by two announcements; the one, that in the distribution of the money the four objects of relief recognised in 1896-7 would be adhered to; the other, that the claims of Native States would be fully considered. These principles have been faithfully adhered to by the Central Committee. Until the detailed expenditure accounts of the Local Committees are received, we cannot accurately state the distribution under the several headings. But we know approximately that, of 137 lakhs allotted by the Central Committee, 111 lakhs have been for cattle, and seed, and subsistence to cultivators. The allotments to the Native States aggregate nearly 50 lakhs of rupees. The allotments to Rajputana alone amount to 22 lakhs. Measured by the population of the distressed areas, Rajputana has thus been not less generously treated than the Central Provinces. In the case of wealthy States like Gwalior, Hyderabad, and Baroda, the Central Committee have restricted their grants to such amounts as the Political Officers have thought it expedient to ask for. Speaking generally, the grants made in Native territory have far exceeded the expectations of the rulers, or

their subjects. The gratitude of the latter has been expressed in homely and touching phrase. "If the English had not sent us this money, the thread of our lives would have been broken." "These are not rupees which have come over the sea, they are the water of life." "We have *heard* of the generosity of Hatim Bai, but we have *tasted* that of the Great Queen." How timely was the arrival of this charity, and how much it meant, is seen in scores of affecting incidents. "Now I have got through to the other side," said a poor cultivator, with tears in his eyes, to the English officer who had given him a few rupees to buy fodder for his famished bullocks. There is ample evidence that this gratitude is of an enduring nature. Some of the happiest memories of famine officers are those of unexpected visits from men who had been helped back to their old life by grants of seed and bullocks, and who returned, after many days, to again acknowledge the value of the gift. Nor should the self-respect, which in not a few cases stood between a needy person and the proffered gift, or the scrupulous regard which led to its return because it might be misapplied, be overlooked. From Rajputana comes an old-world tale of a Rajput Chief, dwelling in his bare house among his destitute tenants, who distributed among the latter the grant allotted to his village, but refused any gift for himself—"I am a Rahtor; I could not take charity,"—and who with difficulty was induced to take a small loan. From Rajputana also comes the story of the man who was given a little money to convey his family and himself to a relief work because he said that he had no means of feeding them on the way, but who came back and returned the gift because, as he said, he had not spoken the truth, since he had five goats which he could kill, one each day, eating part of the flesh, and selling the remainder. It is these incidents which lead one to hope that this great national charity has not been misplaced, but has been received in the spirit in which it has been offered.

In a famine campaign, which has lasted for so long, and has provided so many opportunities for chivalry and self-sacrifice, it would not be difficult, but it might be invidious, to select any names for special mention. Numerous cases of devotion, amounting to the loftiest heroism, have been

brought under my notice. I have heard of Englishmen dying at their posts without a murmur. I have seen cases where the entire organisation of a vast area, and the lives of thousands of beings, rested upon the shoulders of a single individual labouring on in silence and solitude, while his bodily strength was fast ebbing away. I have known of natives, who, inspired by his example, have thrown themselves with equal ardour into the struggle, and have uncomplainingly laid down their lives for their countrymen. Particularly must I mention the noble efforts of the Missionary Agencies of various Christian denominations. If ever there was an occasion in which their local knowledge and influence were likely to be of value, and in which it was open to them to vindicate the highest standards of their beneficent calling, it was here ; and strenuously and faithfully have they performed the task.

From this record of the past I will now turn for a few moments to the future. After the sombre picture that I have been compelled to draw, it is with no small relief that we may contemplate the existing situation and outlook. The monsoon was late in coming, but it has lingered long ; and, except in the eastern parts of the Bombay Deccan, where I hear of crops withering from the premature cessation of the rains, of a poor *kharif*, and of anxious prospects, the outlook is everywhere promising. The early autumn crops are already being harvested, and prices are steadily falling back to their accustomed level. A good cotton crop is on the ground, and as the cotton crop of India is worth 13 millions sterling in an average year, its importance to the agriculturist will be readily understood. Preparations for the winter crops are being actively made, and there is every expectation that the sowings in many parts will be unusually large, and will be made in the most favourable circumstances. A good winter harvest means cash to the farmer, as a good autumn harvest means cheap and abundant food to the poorest classes. If we have the good fortune to see our anticipations realised, next year should witness the export trade in agricultural produce again revive, and the import trade expand with the improvement in the purchasing power of the people.

That the famine-smitten tracts will at once, or speedily, lose the marks of the ordeal through which they have passed, is not to be expected. The rapidity of the recovery will depend upon many circumstances—upon the vitality and stout-heartedness of the tillers of the soil, upon the degree of their indebtedness, upon the goodness or badness of the next few seasons, upon the extent to which their cattle have perished, and, not least, upon the liberality, in respect of revenue remission, of the Government. As regards the loss of stock, our latest reports are more encouraging than at one time we could have foreseen, and justify us in the belief that, if the seasons be propitious, recuperation will be more rapid than might at first sight be deemed likely. In olden times, after a famine such as we have experienced, the districts would have been depopulated, and the land would have lain waste for a generation, for lack of hands to till it. There may be isolated tracts in the jungles and mountain fastnesses of Central India and Rajputana, where the approaching census will reveal a melancholy decrease of population ; but, treating India as a whole, neither in Native States, nor in British territory, is the wholesale and lasting desolation which followed the footsteps of a famine a hundred years ago any longer within the bounds of possibility. The standard of humanity has risen with the means of combating the peril ; and in proportion as the struggle has been arduous, so are the after-effects mitigated.

I have alluded to the attitude of Government. In so far as generosity in respect of advances, of loans, of suspensions, and, most of all, of remissions, is concerned, the figures that I have previously given will show that, on our part, there has been no hanging back. Our first object has hitherto been to pull the sufferers through. Our first object now is to start them again with reasonable chances in the world. Behind these two objects lies the further and binding duty of profiting by the lessons that the famine has taught. It will not do for us to sit still until the next famine comes, and then bewail the mysteries of Providence. A famine is a natural visitation in its origin ; but it is, or should be, a very business-like proceeding when once it has started. There are many subjects into which we shall require to make careful inquiry,

and an investigation into which we have already suggested to the Secretary of State. We shall want to compare the various relief systems and their results as practised in the different provinces ; to see in what respects our codes are faulty, where they are too rigid, and where they are too lax ; to still further investigate the vexed question of large works as against small works, and of relief concentration as against relief dispersion. We shall have to examine the rival merits of relief establishments, and of unconditional gratuitous relief when the rains break. We must consider how far sudden and excessive mortality is to be explained or prevented. We must ascertain the best means of bringing home relief, in the form of revenue remissions and suspensions, with the greatest promptitude and directness to the people. We must investigate and report upon the various public works that have been undertaken in the course of the recent famine, and must provide for the execution of a continuous programme of preventive works in the future.

In this connection I would remind my hearers that the last Famine Commission in their Report devoted much attention to the matter. Unfortunately the recent famine came upon us before their recommendations had had time to bear fruit ; and in the rush and hurry of the overwhelming calamity of the past year, works had often to be improvised, so to speak, in a moment, to meet the demands of a particular area, whether the work was or was not likely to be of permanent value. Against this danger we shall require to guard by insisting upon the methodical preparation of district programmes, and upon the formation of provincial branches, to be charged with this special duty. Railway earthwork has been pretty well exhausted for the present. More roads exist than can be properly kept up. But there are few parts of the country where works for the storage of water are not practicable. They may not, probably will not, be directly remunerative. But if such a work will conduce to greater security of the crops, and if it can be maintained at a moderate cost, it is just the sort of work which should be taken up, or kept in hand, for an emergency. No direct programme of relief should be considered complete until every possible irrigation or water storage scheme in the

district has been examined, until a definite opinion has been come to as to its practicability and utility, and until detailed plans and estimates have been prepared for every accepted scheme. Such works will not fall within the category of the vast productive irrigation projects such as have been executed in many parts of India. These are only possible amid certain physical surroundings, in the alluvial plains of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, in the deltaic tracts of Madras and Sind, and within the dry zone of Burma. All the possible schemes of this character are well known, and are gradually being undertaken. Tank storage, again, is not everywhere practicable. It is often found impossible to construct new tanks without injuring those already in existence; there is risk of water-logging the soil, and the water-supply is apt to fail altogether, and to run dry at the very moment when it is most wanted, namely, in time of famine. Nor are the average results of works of this description that have already been carried out very favourable. It is possible to reclaim land for cultivation at a cost that is too heavy. On the other hand, it would seem that the underground storage of water might be more widely and systematically undertaken, and that a more generous policy might be adopted towards the construction of wells. All these are matters which we should investigate and set on foot before the next famine comes. The annual rainfall of India we can neither regulate nor forecast. The social habits of the people we cannot alter in a decade, or in a generation. But if we can neither prevent nor cure, at least we can do a good deal by way of precaution.

There is one recommendation that was made by the last Famine Commission which should, I think, be of value to us in our policy of preparation, inasmuch as it has since received the sanction of the Secretary of State. This was the proposal that the cost of investigating and preparing new projects falling into the class of protective works should form a charge against the annual Famine Grant. Hitherto such preliminary outlay has been chargeable to the ordinary Public Works head of the provincial budget, and this has no doubt deterred the provincial Governments in the past from expending money in investigating projects for canals and

irrigation reservoirs, which might prove, on examination, to be impracticable, and which, even if practicable, would have to stand over indefinitely until required for purposes of famine relief. There are other respects in which I think that the Famine Grant might be turned to better account in carrying out its original object than is at present the case ; but I have not time to deal with them now.

I must apologise to Council for having detained them so long. But a famine such as we have lately experienced is not an every-day or an every-year occurrence. It cannot be met with a sigh, or dismissed with a shudder. It is a terrible incident, an abiding landmark, in the history of the Indian people. As such, its management and its study impose a heavy responsibility upon those of us who are charged with the government of this great dependency. It is with the object of demonstrating to the Indian public that, in the administration of the recent famine, we have not been unworthy of our trust, and that this year of strain and suffering will not have passed by without our profiting by its lessons, that I have made this speech.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 25, 1903

THERE is one final subject that is rarely mentioned in these debates, and that finds little place in the many utterances which the head of the Government is called upon to make in the course of the year, and yet in a sense it is the most important of all. I allude to Foreign Affairs ; and it must be remembered that in the case of India the phrase includes her relations with the whole of her neighbours ; and that this carries with it the politics of the greater part of the Asiatic Continent. I doubt if even the thoughtful public has at all realised the silent but momentous change that is going on, and that will one day have an effect upon India that is at present but dimly discerned. In the old days, and it may almost be said up to the last fifteen years, the foreign relations of India were practically confined to her dealings with Afghanistan, and to the designs or movements of the great Power beyond ; and the foreign policy of India had little to do with any other foreign nation. It is true that we had territories or outposts of influence that brought us into contact with Persia and Turkey, and that we had occasional dealings with the Arabian tribes. Now all that is changed ; and events are passing which are gradually drawing this country, once so isolated and remote, into the vortex of the world's politics, and that will materially affect its future. The change has been due to two reasons. Firstly, as our own dominion has expanded, and our influence upon our frontier consolidated, we have been brought into more direct and frequent relations with the countries lying

immediately beyond. For instance, the annexation of Upper Burma brought us into contact with an important corner of the Chinese Empire, and created a batch of frontier and other political problems of its own. But the second reason is much more important. Europe has woken up, and is beginning to take a revived interest in Asia. Russia with her vast territories, her great ambitions, and her unarrested advance, has been the pioneer in this movement, and with her or after her have come her competitors, rivals, and allies. Thus, as all these foreigners arrive upon the scene and push forward into the vacant spots, we are slowly having a European situation recreated in Asia, with the same figures upon the stage. The great European Powers are also becoming the great Asiatic Powers. Already we have Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Turkey; and then, in place of all the smaller European kingdoms and principalities, we have the Empires and States of the East, Japan, China, Tibet, Siam, Afghanistan, Persia—only a few of them strong and robust, the majority containing the seeds of inevitable decay. There lie in these events and in this renewed contact or collision, as the case may be, between the East and the West, omens of the greatest significance to this country. Europe is so accurately parcelled out between the various States and Powers, the balance of power is suspended on so fine a thread, and the slightest disturbance would imperil such wide interests, that short of some serious and unforeseen convulsion, which every one would wish to avert, great changes are not to be anticipated there. Africa is rapidly being overrun by the few European Powers who have obtained a foothold upon that Continent; and before long its political destinies and territorial grouping will have taken something like definite shape. But in Asia a great deal is still in flux and solution, and there must, and there will be, great changes. It will be well to realise what an effect these must have upon India, and how they must add to our responsibilities and cares. Our Indian dominions now directly touch those of Turkey in many parts of the Arabian peninsula, those of Russia on the Pamirs, those of China along the entire border of Turkestan and Yunnan, those of France on the Upper Mekong. In our dealings

with them, the Foreign Department in India is becoming the Asiatic branch of the Foreign Office in England. Then round all our borders is the fringe of Asiatic States to which I just now alluded, whose integrity and whose freedom from hostile influence are vital to our welfare, but over whose future the clouds are beginning to gather. In Europe we are a maritime Power, who are merely called upon to defend our own shores from invasion, and who are confronted by no land dangers or foes. In Asia we have both a seaboard and a land frontier many thousands of miles in length, and though Providence has presented us on some portion of our land frontiers with the most splendid natural defences in the world, yet the situation must become more and not less anxious as rival or hostile influences creep up to these ramparts, and as the ground outside them becomes the arena of new combinations and the field of unforeseen ambitions. All these circumstances will tend, they are already tending, to invest the work of the Indian Foreign Department with ever-increasing importance, and they demand a vigilance and a labour of which there are but few indications in anything that reaches the public ear or falls under the public eye. Questions of internal development, administrative anxieties, agrarian and fiscal problems, fill all our minds, just as they have occupied the greater part of my speech this afternoon. But do not let the people of India think that we shall never have anything but domestic cares in this country. Do not let them forget that there are other and not inferior duties that devolve upon our rulers, that the safety of the Indian Frontier, and the maintenance of the British dominion in those parts of Asia where it has for long been established, and where it is the surest, if not the sole, guarantee for peace and progress, are in their hands, and that this no less than internal reform is part of England's duty. I see no reason for anticipating trouble upon our borders, and I know of no question that is at present in an acute or menacing phase. But do not let any one, on the strength of that, go to sleep in the happy illusion that anxiety will never come. The geographical position of India will more and more push her into the forefront of international politics. She will more and more become the

strategical frontier of the British Empire. All these are circumstances that should give us food for reflection, and that impose upon us the duty of incessant watchfulness and precaution. They require that our forces shall be in a high state of efficiency, our defences secure, and our schemes of policy carefully worked out and defined. Above all, they demand a feeling of solidarity and common interest among those—and they include every inhabitant of this country, from the Raja to the Raiyat—whose interests are wrapped up in the preservation of the Indian Empire, both for the sake of India itself and for the wider good of mankind.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 30, 1904

About Foreign Affairs in their wider application I do not propose to say much. I spoke last year about the increasing range of our responsibilities in Asia, and a good deal has happened in the interim to point those remarks. My own view of India's position is this. She is like a fortress with the vast moat of the sea on two of her faces, and with mountains for her walls on the remainder. But beyond those walls, which are sometimes of by no means insuperable height and admit of being easily penetrated, extends a glacis of varying breadth and dimensions. We do not want to occupy it, but we also cannot afford to see it occupied by our foes. We are quite content to let it remain in the hands of our allies and friends; but if rival and unfriendly influences creep up to it, and lodge themselves right under our walls, we are compelled to intervene, because a danger would thereby grow up that might one day menace our security. This is the secret of the whole position in Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Tibet, and as far eastwards as Siam. He would be a short-sighted commander who merely manned his ramparts in India and did not look out beyond; and the whole of our policy during the past five years has been directed towards maintaining our predominant influence and to preventing the expansion of hostile agencies on this area which I have described. It was for this reason

that I visited that old field of British energy and influence in the Persian Gulf: and this also is in part the explanation of our movement into Tibet at the present time; although the attitude of the Tibetan Government, its persistent disregard of Treaty obligations, and its contemptuous retort to our extreme patience, would in any case have compelled a more active vindication of our interests. I should have thought that the record that I have quoted on the North-West Frontier would have saved me from the charge of a dangerous or impulsive policy on any part of the Indian frontier. I have had no desire to push on anywhere, and the history of the past five years has been one, not of aggression, but of consolidation and restraint. It is enough for me to guard what we have without hankering for more. But I would suffer any imputation sooner than be an unfaithful sentinel at my post, or allow the future peace of this country to be compromised by encroachment from the outside as to whose meaning there cannot be any question. If the Tibetan Government is wise it will realise that the interests of Indian defence and the friendship of the Indian Government are entirely compatible with the continued independence and autonomy of Tibet, so far as these may be said at present to exist. But it should also realise that they are incompatible with the predominance of any other foreign influence, carrying with it insecurity on our frontier and adding gratuitously to our cares.

FRONTIER POLICY

DURBAR AT QUETTA

ON April 12, 1900, the Viceroy held a Durbar in the Sandeman Memorial Hall, Quetta, for the reception of the Chiefs, Sirdars, and other Native gentlemen of Baluchistan. The Durbar was attended by the Khan of Kalat, the Jam of Las Beyla, and about 300 Khans and Sirdars, and by all the principal civil and military officials in Quetta. The Viceroy's speech was as follows:—

I am sorry not to be able to speak to you in your own language. But my words will presently be translated and will thus reach your ears. However, though I cannot myself address you in a form that you will understand, I feel that I may claim to know something of your history, your customs, and your country. For many years, before I was appointed by Her Majesty the Queen to be her representative in India, I had spent much of my time in travelling upon the Indian frontier, and in neighbouring countries. I have met most of the tribes, and I know the principal chieftains along 1000 miles of that frontier from the Pamirs to Quetta; and I take a warm interest in these people and am attached to their rulers. Years ago, I devoted some time to travelling through Persia, a country with which many of you have close relations. On another occasion I stayed in Chitral with Mehtar Nizam-ul-Mulk, just before he was murdered by his brother, who is now a prisoner in British India; and on the last occasion that I was in Quetta, more than five years ago, I had ridden down to Chaman by Ghuzni and Kandahar from Kabul, where I had been for a fortnight as the guest of the Amir. Seven years before that time I was also here with Sir Robert Sandeman when the Khojak tunnel had not even

been commenced ; and we rode over the mountains to Chaman by the old road. All these experiences have taught me to know and to love the frontier, and to take no common interest in the Baluch and the Pathan. The reason for which I have been drawn to these regions, and have acquired this attachment is a simple one. I admire the manly spirit and the courage of the border tribesmen. I dislike war with them and desire to maintain an honourable peace. In many cases, as for instance formerly in Baluchistan, they are constantly quarrelling with each other, and are accordingly weak and disunited. I want them to unite with the British Raj in the settlement of their feuds and in the defence of their own country. Any one who attacks it should be regarded as a common foe. I want them to become, as many of them do, the trusted soldiers and the loyal feudatories of the Great Queen ; and to realise that, while there is no use in fighting us, because we are so strong as always to defeat them in the end, their religion, their traditions, even their independence, are most safe when they enter into friendly relations with the British Government, and receive from us those guarantees which we are always ready to give in return for faithful service and good behaviour. I believe in speaking the truth boldly to the men of the frontier, as to all other men ; and in telling them frankly where, in their own interests, they will do well and where they will do ill. The Sirdars of Baluchistan have learned this lesson from a long and successful experience ; and the history of this country for the past twenty years, with its change from perpetual anarchy to peace, its steady progress, and its growth in population, wealth, and contentment, is an evidence of the truth of my saying.

I am addressing to-day in this Durbar different classes of chiefs and persons, to each of whom I will say a few words. There are present here His Highness the Khan of Kalat and the Jam of Las Beyla. They possess ancient titles and they rule over famous or interesting territories. Among the ancestors of His Highness the Khan was Nasir Khan the First, who was beloved as a just and upright ruler. The example of great ancestors should never be forgotten by their descendants. If a State declines in

interest or importance, it is the ruler who is rightly held to blame. Rulers are invested with a supreme responsibility to their subjects. This may be difficult to exercise when their own position is insecure, and when they are exposed to political danger or to personal risk. But what excuse can there be for their not taking an active interest in the welfare of their people, and showing liberality and enlightenment in administration, when they are secured against any external danger by the protection of the British Power? The Sirkar gives with generous hand, but he also expects in return, and this obligation must be paid.

Secondly, I see present here the Sirdars of the Baluch confederacy. Sirdars, you owe to the British Government the reconciliation of your old disputes and the general tranquillity which you now enjoy. I know your traditional loyalty. I remember the help that you rendered in the Afghan war. But, Sirdars, it is not only in times of crisis that you have a duty to Government. We rely upon your swords when fighting begins. But peace has its service not less than war; and I call upon you to perform this service. I have been shocked to hear of the too frequent outrages against Government in recent years in which Marris and Brahuis have been engaged. They are a disgrace to the tribes and a discredit to the Chiefs. I believe that it is possible for the Sirdars, if they are resolute and united, to prevent these outrages. I am certain that, in many cases, it is possible for them to capture and to punish the criminals. I say to you, therefore, Sirdars, that the Government does not give to you your pay and service for nothing: and that I expect you to put a stop to these lawless proceedings, and to purge your tribal honour from this tarnish. When I see good service rendered, I am quick to recognise it; and it is with pleasure, therefore, that I have learned from my Agent, Mr. Barnes,¹ that in giving warning of a robber gang, Khan Sahib Baha-ud-din Bazai, and in attacking and dispersing a body of raiders, the Rustamzai Levies of Nushki, have recently rendered valuable help to Government. I am pleased to acknowledge the conduct of these men, and I hold it up as an example.

¹ Afterwards Sir Hugh Barnes, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma.

Thirdly, there are here present the Sirdars and Khans of districts under British Administration. You also, Sirdars and Khans, are mostly in receipt of pay or *muafi* allowances from Government; and you also have your corresponding duties to perform. There have recently taken place in British Baluchistan a number of murderous attacks upon Englishmen and Europeans, which are sometimes called, or miscalled, *ghaza*. Believe me, Sirdars, that the idea that any one can earn the favour of Almighty God by killing some one else against whom he bears no grudge, and who has done him no wrong, simply because he follows another religion—which is only another way of worshipping the same God—is one of the stupidest notions that ever entered into the brain of a human being. If we could lift the *purdah* of the future world and see what fate has attended these wretched murderers, I do not think that there would be many future *ghazis* on the Pathan border, or in Baluchistan. However, it is enough for me to deal with the attitude of Government: and about this I wish you to cherish no illusions. I am determined, so far as lies in the power of Government, to put a stop to these abominable crimes. I shall shrink from no punishment, however severe; I shall prohibit the carrying of all arms if I find that to be necessary; and I shall hold those responsible who are to blame. The leaders of the people can co-operate with Government in two ways. They can throw the whole weight of their influence and authority against the perpetrators of these vile outrages; and they can assist Government to capture the offenders. I shall not be slow to reward those who render good and faithful service. But I also shall not be quick to pardon those who are satisfied with doing nothing, and who openly neglect their duty.

Sirdars and Khans, as you are aware, a great famine is prevailing in many parts of India. How great it is, and with what efforts the Government of India is endeavouring to cope with it, is shown by the fact that nearly fifty lakhs of persons are being kept alive by the powerful hand of the Sirkar. We wish none of the people to die; and we spend the money of Government in giving them work and in saving them from starvation. In Baluchistan you never

have a famine so terrible as this. But I know that, for three years past, there has been a deficient rainfall and considerable distress in certain parts of this country, particularly in the Marri and Bugti Hills, and a great mortality of cattle. Here, too, the Sirkar has not been behindhand in relief. A grant of one and a half lakhs has been made for the construction of roads by those who are in need ; a quarter of a lakh is being spent in the distribution of grain among the Marris and Bugtis ; and the Famine Relief Fund has recently made to Baluchistan a special grant of Rs.10,000. I hope that these efforts may tide over the remaining period of scarcity, and that you will have good rains in the forthcoming summer.

And now, Your Highness and Sirdars, let me say, in conclusion, what a pleasure it is to me to inaugurate with this important Durbar the Memorial Hall to my old friend Sir Robert Sandeman, in which I am now speaking. "Sinneman Sahib," as you all called and knew him, has now been dead for eight years. But his name is not forgotten, and his work will go on living, as I hope, for ever.

For what was Sandeman's work for which we honour and remember his name ? It was the building up of the powerful and peaceful frontier-province of Baluchistan with the good-will and acquiescence of its ruler, its Sirdars, and its people. When he first came to Kalat in 1875 the Baluchistan State was a prey to civil war, the tribes were disorganised and fighting, Peshin and Sibi were under Afghan Governors, there was no British Administration in the country, and the passes were either closed to trade or were infested by marauding gangs. Contrast the present position, when we see a Baluchistan that is pacified and prosperous from the Arabian Sea to the Registan Desert, and from the Persian border to the Suleimans and the Gomul. I do not say that there are never troubles, or disorders, or disputes. But there is no civil war. There is a growing trade ; justice is dispensed ; property is increasingly safe ; the population is multiplying ; every man who does right knows that he is certain of the protection of the British Raj. This is Sir Robert Sandeman's work, and for this he will always be remembered.

It also seems to me a right thing that his memorial should be a Jirga Hall. For above all else he carried through his policy by his use of tribal methods, of which the Jirga is the foremost, by his knowledge of tribal character, and by his conciliation of tribal feelings. He was a strong and independent man. But he never coerced by force where he could lead by free will. He had the power of character to dictate, but he also had the tact and good humour to persuade. It was for this that he was trusted by all men and was beloved by the people. I am proud to come here to-day as Viceroy of India, and to open this Memorial Hall to one who was not merely my friend but a strong and withal kindly ruler of men and a noble-minded son of Great Britain. Since I was here with him, his successor with whom I stayed later on, Sir James Browne, has also passed away. He, too, had a wonderful influence with the tribes and was trusted by every Pathan on the border. The Frontier is a hard master. It is greedy of the life-blood of its servants: and both these brave and able men died at their posts. No more competent successor to them could have been found than my present Agent, Mr. Barnes. He learned his lessons in the school of Sandeman, and with energy and ability and a high sense of duty, he has pursued the same path, and carried on the same work. I rejoice to think that Baluchistan, the apple of the Frontier's eye, has been so well guarded by a series of such devoted and capable officers of the Queen: and in such hands may it long continue to prosper.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1901

First in importance among the twelve reforms I placed the creation and pursuit of a sound Frontier Policy. It seemed to me that many of our blunders and misfortunes had arisen from the fact that there was no settled basis of policy, no principle of action operating throughout that long and troubled zone, but that each situation was apt to be

dealt with as it arose, and according to the advice or influences that happened to be uppermost. I do not think that there is in this picture any disparagement of the officials who were responsible for what was done. They were dealing with a transitional epoch, in which the frontiers were being pushed forward by the pressure of events, without any policy having been formulated to keep pace with them, and in which there was a tendency to oscillate, according to the predominant influence of the hour, between advance and retrogression. It has always seemed to me that a survey of the whole situation, in the light of our experience, our pledges, our armaments, and our general resources, ought to be productive of a code of frontier policy which could, with consistency and without violent interruptions, be applied to the whole line of our North-Western frontier from the Pamirs to Baluchistan. Such a code we have endeavoured to evolve. Its main features consist in the withdrawal of our regular troops from advanced positions in tribal territory, their concentration in posts upon or near to the Indian border, and their replacement in tribal tracts by bodies of tribal levies trained up by British officers to act as a militia in defence of their own native valleys and hills ; in other words, the substitution of a policy of frontier garrisons drawn from the people themselves, for the costly experiment of large forts and isolated posts thrown forward into a turbulent and fanatical country. This is the policy that we have been engaged in carrying into effect from Chitral on the North to the Gojul Valley on the South. I do not say that it is a policy unattended with risk. There is no frontier policy capable of being framed that could be described as absolutely safe. I have not uttered one boastful word about it since we began two years ago ; and I am not even going to indulge in a murmur of self-congratulation now. The policy has to justify itself: and that it can only do in time. I do not say that it will save us from frontier warfare, or from occasional expeditions, or from chronic anxiety. They are the inevitable heritage of a boundary with the physical and ethnographical characteristics of the Indian frontier. All I claim for it is that it is a policy of military concentration as against diffusion, and of tribal con-

ciliation in place of exasperation : and I desire that it should be given a fair chance. I do not at all care by what name it is called. One of the main errors of the past seems to me to have been that, instead of realising that there could be such a thing as a policy upon which all parties could agree, it has been assumed that there were only two policies—the Lawrence policy and the Forward policy—and that a man who was fit to think must be an advocate of one or the other. In my view both of these policies have long ago been superannuated. I have frequently argued in the House of Commons and elsewhere that the policy of Lord Lawrence is dead from the complete change in the situation and from the efflux of time : and I think that there is nothing more dangerous or more futile than to summon dead men from their graves, and to dogmatise as to how they would have dealt with a situation that they could never have foreseen. Similarly, as regards the Forward School, the word is one of those elastic and pliable adjectives which are capable of assuming the most different meanings, from a statesmanlike prevision of military and political danger on and beyond the frontier, to a rash indulgence in military adventure. All I would say is, let us get away from the paralysing influence of labels. Let our new frontier policy be called by any name that men choose. Only let it be based, not upon obsolete political formulas, but upon up-to-date common sense ; and if it approves itself as time goes on, let it become a tradition and endure.

The second reform that I set before myself was the constitution, after I had had time carefully to examine the whole situation, of the best form of administration for the frontier districts. As hon. members know, these studies led to the recommendation of a new Frontier Agency to be created out of the Trans-Indus Districts of the Punjab, and to be placed under the direct control of the Government of India. This proposal was unanimously accepted by my colleagues here, and has received the assent of the Secretary of State and of His Majesty's Government at home. The papers have already been printed in the form of an Extraordinary Gazette, which will show to the public what were the steps by which we were led to these conclusions. I need not

recapitulate them now. We may perhaps feel some reasonable pleasure at the solution of a problem which has baffled successive Governments for twenty-five years. But our new province will have to be judged not by its promise, but by its results. In one respect I observe a great change in public opinion ; for, whereas when I left England the majority of those persons whom I had consulted on the desirability of such a change were hostile to it, and it was doubtful what might be the reception accorded to it by the Press, I now observe with satisfaction that it is everywhere described as inevitable, and taken as a matter of course. This is rather the way with reforms. They are often vigorously and successfully resisted, as this proposal has been ever since the days of Lord Lytton, who was its first parent. But when they are ultimately carried, every one shakes hands, and says that the result was a foregone conclusion.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 26, 1902

A new Frontier Province has been started upon its career, and I am very hopeful that it will tend to unity and continuity of policy in respect of the Frontier. That it will result in the quicker despatch of business is quite certain, and has already been demonstrated in connection with recent events in Waziristan. We have fortunately had peace for three years in Chitral, Dir, the Khyber, the Samana, and the Kurram. The Chitral reliefs, which now take place in the autumn, have been conducted without the firing of a single shot. I am presently going up to Peshawar to inspect things myself, and to see the Frontier Khans and *jirgas* who will be summoned to meet me in Durbar. Our policy of substituting tribal militia for the regular troops in advanced positions on the Frontier is slowly but surely coming into operation. It is now more than two years since the British garrison was able to leave the Khyber. The Samana Rifles are about to be entrusted with some of the Samana posts. The military are on the eve of being withdrawn from the Kurram, where the Kurram

Rifles have reached a high standard of efficiency. The Khushalgarh-Kohat Railway has already entered Kohat, and the line is being pushed on towards Thal. The Kohat Pass Road has been opened, and is in constant use. On this section of the Frontier we may certainly point to good work done, peace so far unbroken, and greater security obtained.

We have observed with pleasure that the death of that remarkable man, the late Amir of Afghanistan, during the last year, has been followed by the tranquil succession of his son the Amir Habibulla without any of those disturbances which had for long been predicted. The latest news from Kabul does not mention any uneasiness, and we earnestly trust that the present ruler may consolidate his position and continue on a larger scale the reforms which had been initiated by his father. The most friendly relations prevail between the British Government and His Highness ; and our hope is that the alliance between the two Governments may become even firmer and more intimate as time passes on. Where the interests of two parties are identical there exists a natural bond of union.

Farther down the Frontier we have been involved throughout the past year in a blockade of the Mahsud Waziris. This turbulent tribe—one of the most unruly of the Pathan clans—had carried their raids and offences upon British territory and British protected subjects to a point at which the arrears of fines had reached a formidable sum. We offered them the opportunity of clearing off this debt, and of starting afresh under a system of tribal subsidies paid to the tribe, and distributed among themselves. They declined these terms, and a blockade was imposed and maintained with as much strictness and severity as were possible along a cordon many hundreds of miles in length, through a country of immense physical difficulty. I observe that the policy of a blockade arouses almost as conflicting emotions in the bosoms of Frontier critics as used to do, for instance, the Frontier policies of Lord Lawrence and Lord Lytton. Those who prefer the drastic methods of an expedition denounce a blockade, and do their best to prove that it is either a failure or a sham. Those

who, from the experience of past expeditions, with their shocking disproportion of cost to result, distrust that method of procedure, as strongly favour a blockade. For my own part I regard the two as alternative methods of coercing a hostile or rebellious tribe, and the distinction between them as one of policy rather than of ethics. Of the two I would certainly prefer to try the blockade first, both because it is so far less costly, and because it is attended by so much less loss of life and acute suffering. But when, in the course of a blockade, the enemy persist in making a series of savage attacks upon our outposts and convoys and men, cutting up frequent parties and becoming possessed of a large number of long-range rifles, then I am not going to sit idle and allow these acts to be pursued with impunity. Therefore it was that towards the close of last year we decided, while still maintaining the blockade intact, to initiate a series of retaliatory sallies or reprisals upon those who had provoked them. These reprisals were conducted with great gallantry and endurance by the soldiers who were pushed forward from the cordon line. At no time were more than 5500 men engaged in active operations, being split up into smaller columns, which scoured the valleys of the tribesmen, inflicting what damage they could, and conclusively proving the vulnerability of even the heart of the Mahsud country. These proceedings soon brought the tribe to their knees. The balance of the fine was paid up, the captured rifles were surrendered, security was given for the restitution of flocks and herds seized by the Mahsuds during the blockade, and for the expulsion of outlaws from the country ; the principle of tribal responsibility for future offences has been explicitly accepted ; and in these conditions the blockade has been finally raised, and a state of peace has been resumed. I said something just now about the relative cost of an expedition of the old-fashioned sort and a blockade. When I add that the former seldom costs less than a lakh a day, and when you see that my hon. military colleague has entered in this Budget an estimate for our Mahsud proceedings of less than 16 lakhs, the bulk of which will have been incurred by the military movements at the end, I think it will be admitted that we chose

the more economical course. If there be any one who argues that this is a large price to pay for the recovery of a fine originally fixed at one lakh of rupees, I would remind him that the tribe have lost very much more than the fine. They have lost in the forfeited allowances of fifteen months a sum of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, in the value of rifles surrendered by them $\frac{1}{4}$ lakh, in the value of property destroyed and live-stock captured by our troops $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs: so that the total loss to the tribe, the fine included, has been in excess of 5 lakhs. If, therefore, the Government of India has disbursed a net sum of 10 lakhs, or even more, is that, I ask, a small price to pay for the restoration of peace along the most difficult and troubled section of our border? Whether the peace will be lasting or not, I will not presume to foretell. The Waziristan problem is not of my creation, and I can but handle it to the best of my ability, and endeavour to evolve order and tranquillity out of one of the most complex and troublesome situations that even the North-West Frontier has ever presented to the Government of India. I want nothing better than to live at peace with these people, and, as far as possible, to leave them alone. But if they reject these overtures and persist in a policy of outrage and rapine and disorder, then I shall hit back and hit hard. While these events have been going on, the policy of the Frontier Militia in Waziristan has necessarily been somewhat in the air, though the South Waziri Militia, which included a good many Mahsuds who stood firm to us even through the conflict with their countrymen, covered themselves on more than one occasion with considerable credit. Now that peace is restored, the Militia will have a better chance; and it is notable that one of the principal demands put forward by the defeated clansmen at the recent *jirga*, was that larger opportunities might be afforded to them of enlisting in the British service in future.

DURBAR AT PESHAWAR

On April 26, 1902, the Viceroy held a Durbar in the Shahi Bagh, at Peshawar, for the reception of the Chiefs, Native gentlemen, and representatives of the North-West Frontier Province and adjoining trans-border tracts. In all some 3000 persons were present, including the Mehtar of Chitral, the Khan of Dir, the Khan of Nawagai, the Chiefs of the Malakand Agency, the Chiefs of the Khyber, the Chiefs of the Hazara Border, and a large number of Durbaris and Native Officers. The Viceroy addressed the Durbar as follows, his speech being a full and complete statement of the Frontier policy of his Government:—

I have come to the Frontier to speak to the men of the Frontier. I want to tell them with my own lips what is the policy of Government, and what I am desirous that our relations should be. It is fifteen years since I first went up the Khyber, and nearly eight years since, after visiting Chitral, I went up for the second time on my way to Kabul ; and I have followed every stage of Frontier history throughout that period. I know the British side ; I have been on the Afghan side ; and I have always tried my best to understand the Pathan side. These are the three sides of the question ; and a man must always look at these three faces, and must endeavour to bring them into harmony, if he wishes to do any good on the Frontier.

Now the great desire of the trans-border tribesman is, I take it, to maintain his religion and his independence, The British Government have not the smallest desire to interfere with either. Your religion is safe from attack at our hands, as every Mohammedan in India can tell you. But there are all sorts of dangerous spirits on the Frontier who are always trying to stir up religious strife ; and we know of people who preach what is called a religious war. All I can say is that, as soon as it becomes a question of war, all religion in my eyes has gone out of it. I desire, not war of any description, but peace. We have had peace now for four years, and we have all been the gainers by it. I want no change, and, if you are wise, you will not want it either. But if war were ever forced upon me on the Frontier, I should not be frightened for one instant because people tried

to call it *jehad* or anything else. I should carry it through to the end.

And next as regards your independence. There are plenty of firebrands always going up and down the border, telling the tribes that Government has designs upon your territory or your independence. More fabrications of this sort are started upon the Frontier than anywhere else in the world. It is a nursery-garden of inventions. I believe there has been a goodly crop during the past few weeks. If you came here to this Durbar, you were going to be seized and held as hostages ; and I as Viceroy was going to make an announcement saying that the British Government was coming to take over your country. Now, have you not grown wise with years ? Can you not see through this transparent nonsense ? If we did not take Tirah, and Dir, and Swat, after the fighting in 1897, are we likely to try and take them now ? The policy of the Government of India towards the trans-border men is very simple, and it is this. We have no wish to seize your territory or interfere with your independence. If you go on worrying and raiding and attacking, there comes a time when we say, This thing must be put an end to : and if the tribes will not help us to do it, then we must do it ourselves. The matter is thus almost entirely in your own hands. You are the keepers of your own house. We are ready enough to leave you in possession. But if you dart out from behind the shelter of the door to harass and pillage and slay, then you must not be surprised if we return quickly and batter the door in.

The second feature of our policy is the payment to you of tribal allowances for keeping open the roads and passes, such as the Khyber and Kohat Passes and the Chitral Road, for the maintenance of peace and tranquillity, and for the punishment of crime. Here again the matter rests mainly with yourselves. We are ready to accept and deal with whatever form of Government or authority the particular tribe prefers. Sometimes it is an individual—be he a Mehtar, or a Nawab, or a Khan. Sometimes it is recognised Maliks or Sirdars. Sometimes it is the tribe as a whole. You can govern yourselves as you please : but when it

comes to our handing over money to you in payment for services, there must be some person or persons to receive it: and they must be authorised and responsible, whether they are one man or a *jirga* of 1000. I doubt if there would ever be a Government in India that would treat you with one half the generosity that is shown by the British Government in respect of these payments. Supposing that we stopped them all to-morrow, where would you be? I know that whenever we have been fighting, the first thing that the tribe presses for, when peace is concluded, is to get back its allowances: and it has been in my power during the 3½ years that I have been here as Viceroy, to restore a good many that had been forfeited or suspended.

The third feature in our policy is the extended military employment that we give you in the Local Levies and Militia. We have made great strides in this respect in recent years. Our policy has been one of liberality all along the border. On the northern part we have the Levies of Swat, and Dir, and Chitral. Lower down we have the Khyber Rifles, the Samana Rifles, the Kurram Militia, and the Waziristan Militia. In these corps we open to you a manly and a well-paid career for your young men, several thousands of whom are thus provided for. They come in to us, they learn discipline, they get good wages for the maintenance of their wives and families, they have something to do instead of becoming *budmashes* and loafers; and we employ them in their own country, which they know well, and for whose continued independence their service is a guarantee. The better they behave in the militia, and the more that experiment is a success, the wider also shall we be disposed to open to them the door of the army itself, where we already have so many good recruits from the Frontier. I say to you, Khans and Maliks, that this is a generous policy, and that you ought to be grateful for it. There are always people ready to whisper in my ear that it is a dangerous policy, and that it is putting weapons into an enemy's hand. But I say in reply, why should he be an enemy? What is there to fight about? And if I put a knife into the hands of a Pathan, why should he, more than any one else, stab me with it in the back? The fact is we want some mutual trust

in this matter. I have made a big step forward in the direction of trusting you. It is for you to make a return, by shutting your ears to the calumnies and the lies of those who want, for interested reasons, to have eternal strife upon the border, and by fulfilling, as honourable men, your part of an honourable bargain.

There is another consequence of peace, and the strategic preparations that make for peace; and this is security. As you know, since I have been Viceroy, we have been building railways to make the Frontier strong, and to enable us to support it at any point where it may be attacked. We have built the line to Dargai. We have continued the line from Peshawar to Jumrud. Of course the local mischief-makers did their best to make you believe that we were going to carry it on to Dacca, or Maidan, or somewhere else. But as usual they were found to be false prophets. Then I have opened the Kohat Pass by friendly arrangement with the tribes; and finally we have taken the railroad from Kushalgarh to Kohat, and are carrying it on from Kohat to Thal.¹ These railroads are in British territory, and we required no man's permission to build them. Primarily they are intended to strengthen our position, and to enable us to move troops without delay in the event of trouble. But I will tell you why they should also be welcomed by you. They are supports to the Tribal Militia of which I have been speaking; and they will enable us to push troops forward at a moment's notice in reinforcement of the positions which we have committed, under British Officers, to their keeping. They will therefore make the local garrisons feel greater confidence in themselves. They will give them security in their loyalty, and will teach them that the hand of the Sirkar is not hidden away in his pocket, but that it is ready to spring forward to succour, to strike, or to avenge.

Observe, too, the effect that these railways have upon trade, and through trade upon a good understanding. The Pathan is a curious mixture. He is a man of war, but he is also a born trader. I see him conducting his business right away in the bazars of Bengal. I have come across him in

¹ This line is now complete and is being converted to broad gauge, and extended to Parachinar.

Burma and Assam. The trade of Swat pours down the line to Nowshera. Some day the trade of Afghanistan will descend the other Frontier lines. As people trade together they get to know each other better, and every mile of Frontier railroad that we build will turn out in the long run to be a link in the chain of friendship as well as of peace.

There is another respect in which you can help forward the policy of Government, and at the same time do good to yourselves. Every man on the Frontier is keen about his personal sense of honour. He feels disgrace if it is lowered and it is one of the chief objects of his life to keep it unstained. We appreciate this sentiment, and, where legitimate, we sympathise with its gratification. But what I say to you is this. Let your sense of honour be a true and not a false sense; let it be measured by just standards; and let it have a worthy and not a selfish or contemptible aim. Let the qualities that go to make up your honour be truth, and fidelity to your word, and decent and upright conduct in life; and keep a control upon the passions of blood-spilling and revenge. You may rest assured that, as long as you maintain and act up to a high and proper standard of *izzat*, we shall uphold your position, and you will not be shamed in the eyes of your countrymen.

And now I turn to all the members of this Durbar, on whichever side of the Frontier they reside. I have come to Peshawar on the present occasion to show my interest in the new Frontier Province, and my sympathy with the work which I have entrusted to the capable hands of Colonel Deane.¹ I selected him for the post because he knows you all well, and has your confidence, and because his heart is in the task. Needless to say, when the province was started all the false rumours that I spoke about a little while ago were flying about, and a great many foolish things were said and believed. It was rumoured that we were going to be more severe towards the people, and to press upon them with a heavy hand. Now that nothing dreadful has happened, perhaps you have learned to esteem these predictions at their true worth. I can tell you in a sentence why

¹ Now Sir H. Deane, first Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province.

the Government of India created this separate administration. It was because we thought that the peace and tranquillity and contentment of the Frontier were of such importance that they ought to be under the direct eye of the Government of India and of its head, instead of somebody else. Business will be better done and more quickly done; and there will not be long and vexatious delays. The system of rule will not be altered, but it will be more efficiently worked. Every man in the Frontier districts ought to look upon it as a direct gain to himself that he has a local Government on the spot, and that there is nobody above that local Government but the Government of India. He ought further to appreciate the fact that the head of the local Government is an officer who can speak his language, who knows his affairs, and who has spent the best part of his life in the Frontier districts. Merit will be better known under the new system, service will be more quickly rewarded, abuses will be more promptly checked, responsibility will be more strictly enforced, and punishment, where punishment is needed, will be more swift.

It is for the leading men of the Province and the Frontier to show their sense of the greater importance of their position by assisting the local Administration in its task. Particularly is this necessary in the detection and punishment of violent crime. The Peshawar and Kohat and Bunnu Districts, as you know, have enjoyed for some time a bad reputation in this respect: and it is for the leaders of native opinion and society to purge it. Without their aid the Native Magistrates and Police can be of little avail. The leading men have not been given titles and jagirs simply in order to enable them to sit down and do nothing for the remainder of their lives. Each of them has a sphere of influence of his own: and all together have a collective sphere of influence that embraces the entire province. They are expected to surrender their own private feuds, and to co-operate with the Government in the suppression of crime and the discouragement of acts that lead to crime. They have a great responsibility, and I call upon them to exercise it. When they have quarrels with each other, let them abstain from civil litigation, with all its pitfalls and

expenses and delays, and let them settle their differences by arbitration, as I believe that they are showing an increasing inclination to do: and when they see trouble brewing against Government let them throw their whole influence on to the side of law and order, and steadily discountenance treachery and wrong-doing.

I see no reason to doubt that a prosperous future awaits this Province. I regard the new administration as already firmly established: and as long as I am in India, and I hope for many years afterwards, it will be watched by the Government of India with a fond and parental eye. But I repeat that your destinies are mainly in your own hands, and I look to local pride and local patriotism to see that they are jealously guarded, and that the North-West Frontier Province shows itself ever more and more deserving of the interest that has secured for it a separate existence and an independent name.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 30, 1904

I remarked just now that I should have something to say about Frontier Policy. I have, I think, only spoken twice about this subject in these debates in six consecutive sessions. It is perhaps scarcely realised in this country that the Foreign Department, which is under the direct charge of the Viceroy, is the most laborious of all. But it pursues its path in a silence which I should be the last to regret, and which is only broken by the storm of criticism that bursts forth when there is an outbreak of trans-frontier war. It is not without some feeling of congratulation that I look back upon five years unmarked by a single expedition on the entire North-West Frontier, unless the brief military sallies that were undertaken in order to close the Mahsud Waziri Blockade can be so described. This is the first time that such a claim could be made for a quarter of a century. In the petty operations that have taken place on a frontier over 1200 miles in length only 42 of our men have been killed during that time; 67 more lost their lives in the course of

the Mahsud Blockade. But I should be reluctant to measure results by lives alone, or even by money alone, although the economies that have resulted both from withdrawal of troops and from absence of fighting have been very great. I would prefer to look at the spirit of increasing harmony and contentment among the tribes and at the relations that are growing up along the entire border.

At the end of 1898 the embers of the Tirah conflagration were only just cooling down. New agreements had not yet been entered into with the tribes. Large garrisons of British troops were cantoned in posts far beyond the frontier, at Chitral, at Lundi Kotal, and in the Tochi; great schemes for costly fortifications were on foot, and we seemed likely once more to tread the vicious circle that has beguiled us so often before. My Councillors and I set ourselves not so much to prevent future war by preparing for it as to produce peace by creating the requisite conditions. Our policy was summed up in these principles: withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions, employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country, concentration of British forces in British territory behind them as a safeguard and a support, improvement of communications in the rear. A necessary condition of the successful execution of this policy was the creation of a new administration on the Frontier, specially equipped for the purpose, and invested with a more direct responsibility than a local Government of the old type. Perhaps those who are so severely denouncing the Government of India as a province-maker just now¹ might cast their eyes back to the events of three years ago. We were scarcely less attacked in some quarters for the creation of the Frontier Province then. But who would now go back from it, or who would dispute that Frontier affairs are conducted under it with infinitely superior despatch, with greater smoothness, and so far with better results, than under the former system?

Let me now ask hon. members to accompany me on a brief tour round the North-West Frontier, from Gilgit to Baluchistan, so that they may see in each case how we stand. We have withdrawn all regular troops from Gilgit,

¹ The allusion is to the proposed partition of Bengal.

which is exclusively garrisoned, along with its subordinate posts, by Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. If we pursue our way westwards towards Chitral we come to Mastuj, which is the headquarters of a corps of Chitrali irregulars, or scouts, whom we are training up for the defence against invasion of the many defensible positions in their narrow and rugged ravines. Chitral itself is a point upon which I look with some satisfaction. Before I came out to India I was one of the foremost combatants in the movement to retain that place within our political and strategical boundary. We won the day in England, though only by the accident of Lord Rosebery's Government being turned out at the critical moment. However, even when I arrived here, I remember being warned that Chitral was the point of danger, that the line of communication between Dir and Chitral was one of extreme tenuity and risk, and that if the connection gradually faded into nothing no one would be the worse. I, on the contrary, declared my fervent intention to maintain this connection, as absolutely essential to our scheme of Frontier defence, and my conviction that it could be done, I will not say without risk, but with success. Since that time we have five times marched our reliefs up and down the Dir Road—quite the most fanatical corner of the mountain border—without a shot being fired. Our troops have been concentrated at the extreme southern end of the Chitral country at Droshe, and the force has been reduced by one-third: while the posts vacated and all out-lying posts are now held by levies raised for the purpose from the Chitralis themselves. The young Mehtar of Chitral has three times been down to see me in India, and if any one were to propose a British withdrawal from Chitral, I know very well from whom the first protest would come. Further, we have just connected Chitral by telegraph with Gilgit. Continuing southwards, I find that in Dir and Swat we had a garrison in 1899 of 3550 men. I withdrew the Khar Movable Column in 1902, and our troops, who are now concentrated at Chakdarra, where is the bridge over the Swat River and the starting point of the Dir-Chitral road, at the Malakand and at Dargai, have been reduced by more than one-half, the outlying posts being held by levies from

Dir and Swat. The Chiefs of Dir and Nawagai have twice visited me in India, and they, in common with all the border chieftains from Hunza to Swat, were included among our guests at the Delhi Durbar. We have fortified the Malakand, and connected Dargai by a narrow-gauge line with Nowshera on the Peshawar Railway, the Kabul river being bridged at Nowshera for the purpose. We are, therefore, in an immeasurably stronger position to meet any sudden or fanatical outbreak in those parts. The elements of unrest are always there, and we shall probably some day have trouble again. But for the moment the omens are favourable: and trade, which has sprung up in a surprising manner, is a great pacifier. Then I come to the Khyber, where in 1899 we had a British garrison of 3700 men. The whole of these have long ago been withdrawn: and the Khyber Rifles, raised from the Pass Afridis and neighbouring tribes, which had dwindled to a total of 800 after the campaign, have now been reorganised into two battalions, officered by Englishmen. With them we hold the entire Pass, with its connected posts and fortifications. These we rebuilt at an outlay of 5 lakhs, instead of the 15 which had been estimated for in 1898. We have also made, by agreement with the tribes and by tribal labour, the alternative route from Peshawar to Lundi Kotal through the Mullagori country that was so vainly pressed for fifteen years ago, and have connected Peshawar by the broad gauge with Jumrud. We have opened the route through the Kohat Pass from Peshawar to Kohat by arrangement with the tribes: and Kohat has been connected with the Indian railway system at Kushalgarh by a 2 ft. 6 in. line, which, as soon as we have completed the new bridge over the Indus at Kushalgarh, will be converted into broad gauge.¹ Continuing southwards we have created a body called the Samana Rifles, nearly 500 strong, who have already taken over nearly the whole of the posts upon and below the Samana that were held by regulars five years ago. Our own forces there, which were 1700 strong, have now been reduced to 600, and will, I expect, before long be altogether withdrawn. Simultaneously we have created a flank support

¹ This has now been done.

to this position by running the railway from Kohat to Thal at the mouth of the Kurram Valley. From this the regulars have been altogether withdrawn, and the two battalions of the Kurram Militia, 1400 strong, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles, and commanded by British Officers, are its sole garrison. In the troubled mountain region between the head of the Kurram and Waziristan we have also settled our border disputes by friendly arrangement with the Amir. Then we come to Waziristan. Here we have cleared out, at the second attempt, the nest of murderous outlaws who had created an Alsatia at Gumatti, near Bannu. We have made agreements with the tribes for the opening up of the turbulent corner between Thal and the Tochi, and we have thus been able to proceed at leisure with our policy of conciliation and concentration in the Waziri country. There we were delayed for a long time by the turbulent contumacy of the Mahsuds ; and the militia experiment, which we had introduced, also proceeded somewhat slowly. The blockade, however, vigorously and unremittingly pursued, and followed by a series of sharp and unexpected punitive counter-raids into the Mahsud valleys, brought the tribe to reason, and matters are now proceeding so evenly that we have recently raised the North Waziristan Militia, which holds the line of the Tochi, to a strength of 1200 men, and the South Waziristan Militia, which holds the line of the Gomal, to a strength of 1450. In 1899 the British garrisons of these two valleys numbered 4000. Before next cold weather the whole of these will have been withdrawn. Waziristan will for some years to come be a section of the frontier that will require careful watching. But the consciousness of the tribes that they are trusted to bear arms in defence of their country, the security of good employment and regular pay, the tranquillising influence of improved communications, and the knowledge that we want to live at peace with them, rather than at war, are all agencies on the right side. The withdrawal of the garrisons that I have named has been balanced by the concentration of the requisite supporting columns at Kohat and Bannu, and the military garrisons in these two districts number

supported from Dera Ismail Khan with a garrison of 3000. Thus along the entire stretch of frontier which I have been describing the situation is completely revolutionised since 1899. If we regard the case from the point of view of British troops, there are now only 5000 across the administrative border of British India as against 10,200; but the supporting garrisons within our border have been increased from 22,000 to 24,000, and have been strengthened by railway connections which were not then in existence. On the tribal side we have called into existence a body of men representing three grades of organisation—Levies over 1000 strong, Border Military Police over 3000, Border Militia 5800. The experiment may still be said to be, if not in its infancy at any rate in its childhood, and I will not indulge in premature laudation. But five years is a long time on the Frontier, and every year gained there is worth two elsewhere. This part of India may not be much interested in what is passing so far away. But I am speaking to-day through this representative assembly to a wider audience, and I am venturing to inform the entire country how its defences stand.

I have not much time to pursue my course southwards and westwards through Baluchistan towards the Persian frontier. But I may mention in a sentence that we have done much to consolidate our position there. We have taken Nuskhi on perpetual lease from the Khan of Kelat: we are constructing the Quetta-Nuskhi Railway, and shall finish it next year;¹ we have built up and popularised the Nuskhi-Seistan trade route, and have planted our officers in Seistan and on the Eastern borders of Persia in sufficient number to watch over our interests and to resist hostile designs. Finally, we are consolidating our position in Mekran.² Perhaps, however, the measure of the frontier security which we have enjoyed can best be estimated by the ease and safety with which we have been able during the past five years to find troops for service elsewhere, in South Africa, China, and Somaliland. At one time our Indian Army was short in the interest of

¹ It was opened to traffic in 1905.

² The 1905 re-organisation of the Frontier Corps in Panjore.

these Imperial campaigns, for which, of course, the Home Government paid, by over 31,000 men. Increased security here has therefore meant increased power of assistance elsewhere.

[Here followed a paragraph about Foreign Affairs, which has been extracted and reproduced under that heading.]

GAME PRESERVATION

BURMA GAME PRESERVATION ASSOCIATION, RANGOON

AMONG the various Addresses that were presented to the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit to Rangoon on December 10, 1901, was one from the Burma Game Preservation Association. In reply Lord Curzon indicated the views upon which he felt disposed to act. The subject was afterwards exhaustively examined by the Government of India, and the heads of a draft Bill were circulated to the various local Governments in 1903. In reply an immense number of opinions were received, and these were being digested with a view to legislation in the Imperial Legislative Council when Lord Curzon left India.

The question of Game Preservation in India is one that may appeal, in my judgment, not merely to the sportsman, but also to the naturalist and the friend of animal life. It is certainly not through the spectacles of the sportsman only that I would regard it, though I yield to no one in my recognition of the manly attractions of shikar. Such considerations, however, might be suspected of a selfish tinge, and I think that in approaching the matter we should, as far as possible, put our own predilections in the background, and view it in the public interest at large.

There are some persons who doubt or dispute the progressive diminution of wild life in India. I think that they are wrong. The facts seem to me to point entirely in the opposite direction. Up to the time of the Mutiny lions were shot in Central India.¹ They are now confined to an

¹ Before leaving India Lord Curzon persuaded Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior to attempt the introduction of the lion into the wild outlying parts of his State, and procured for him animals both from the East Africa Protectorate and from the Soudan. It will be interesting to see whether the experiment succeeds.

ever-narrowing patch of forest in Kathiawar.¹ I was on the verge of contributing to their still further reduction a year ago myself; but fortunately I found out my mistake in time, and was able to adopt a restraint which I hope that others will follow. Except in Native States, the Terai, and forest reserves, tigers are undoubtedly diminishing. This is perhaps not an unmixed evil. The rhinoceros is all but exterminated save in Assam. Bison are not so numerous or so easy to obtain as they once were. Elephants have already had to be protected in many parts. Above all, deer, to which you particularly allude in the case of Burma, are rapidly dwindling. Every man's hand appears to be against them, and each year thins the herds. Finally, many beautiful and innocent varieties of birds are pursued for the sake of their plumage, which is required to minister to the heedless vanity of European fashion.

The causes of this diminution in the wild fauna of India are in some cases natural and inevitable, in others they are capable of being arrested. In the former class I would name the steady increase of population, the widening area of cultivation, and the improvement in means of communication—all of them the sequel of what is popularly termed progress in civilisation. Among the artificial and preventable causes I would name the great increase in the number of persons who use firearms, the immense improvement in the mechanism and range of the weapons themselves, the unchecked depredations of native hunters and poachers, and in some cases, I regret to say, a lowering of the standard of sport, leading to the shooting of immature heads, or to the slaughter of females. The result of all these agencies, many of which are found in operation at the same time, and in the same place, cannot fail to be a continuous reduction in the wild game of India.

I cannot say that the Government of India have hitherto shown any great boldness in dealing with the matter. But there has been, and still is, in my opinion, very good reason for proceeding cautiously. There are some persons who say

¹ This is the Gir Forest in the State of Junagadh in Kathiawar. The preservation of the fast dwindling number of lions in consequence of the Viceroy's intervention led to a rapid multiplication of their numbers, and in 1905 there were said to be over sixty in existence.

that wild animals are as certainly destined to disappear in India as wolves, for instance, have done in England, and that it is of no use to try and put back the hands of the clock. I do not attach much value to this plea, which seems to me rather pusillanimous, as well as needlessly pessimistic. There are others who say that, in a continent so vast as India, or, to narrow the illustration, in a province with such extensive forest reserves as Burma, the wild animals may be left to look after themselves. This argument does not impress me either ; for the distant jungles are available only to the favoured few, and it is the disappearance of game from the plains and from accessible tracts that it is for the most part in question. I do, however, attach great value to the consideration that wild animal life should not be unduly fostered at the expense of the occupations or the crops of the people. Where depredations are committed upon crops, or upon flocks and herds, the cultivator cannot be denied, within reasonable limits, the means of self-protection. Similarly, it is very important that any restrictions that are placed upon the destruction of game should not be worked in a manner that may be oppressive or harassing to his interests.

Hitherto the attempts made by Government to deal with the question by legislation, or by rules and notifications based on statute, have been somewhat fitful and lacking in method. In parts, as I have already mentioned, elephants have been very wisely and properly protected. A close season has been instituted for certain kinds of game. An Act has been passed for the preservation of wild birds. And I observe from one of the enclosures to your memorial that your ingenuity has not shrunk from the suggestion that a deer may reasonably be considered a wild bird. Under this Act the possession or sale during the breeding season of the flesh of certain wild birds in municipal or cantonment areas is forbidden. Then again rules have been issued under the Forest Act protecting certain classes of animals in certain tracts.

The general effect of these restrictions has been in the right direction. But I doubt if they have been sufficiently co-ordinated, or if they have gone far enough ; and one of

my last acts at Simla, before I had received or read your memorial, was to invite a re-examination of the subject with the view of deciding whether we might proceed somewhat further than we have already done. We must be very careful not to devise any too stereotyped or Procrustean form of procedure; since there is probably no matter in which a greater variety of conditions and necessities prevails; and the rules or precautions which would be useful in one place might be positively harmful in another. Among the suggestions which will occur to all of us as deserving of consideration are some greater restriction, by the charge of fees or otherwise, upon the issue of gun licences, the more strict enforcement of a close season for certain animals, the prohibition of the possession or sale of flesh during the breeding season, penalties upon netting and snaring during the same period, restrictions of the facilities given to strangers to shoot unlimited amounts of game, and upon the sale and export of trophies and skins. I dare say that many other ideas will occur to us in the discussion of the matter, or may be put forward in the press and elsewhere by those who are qualified to advise. My own idea would be, if possible, to frame some kind of legislation of a permissive and elastic nature, the provisions of which should be applied to the various provinces of India in so far only as they were adapted to the local conditions. The question of Native States somewhat complicates the matter. But I doubt not that the Government would, where required, meet with the willing co-operation of the Chiefs, many of whom are keen and enthusiastic patrons both of animal life and of sport. The subject is not one that can be hastily taken up or hasty decided, but I have probably said enough to show you that I personally am in close sympathy with your aims; and I need hardly add that, if the Government of India finds itself able, after further study, to proceed with the matter, an opportunity will be given to those who are interested in each province to record their opinions.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

MUTINY TELEGRAPH MEMORIAL, DELHI

ON April 19, 1902, the Viceroy unveiled the Mutiny Memorial erected at Delhi to commemorate the services of the Delhi Telegraph Office Staff on May 11, 1857. He also presented the medal of the Victorian Order to William Brendish, the sole survivor of the Delhi Signallers, on duty that day. He spoke as follows :—

We are met here to-day to commemorate an incident that happened nearly half a century ago, before a good many of those whom I am addressing—and I am in the same position myself—were born. In a sense, indeed, we are repairing the omissions of our predecessors. For who can doubt that the telegraph signallers of Delhi, on that famous day of tragedy, May 11, 1857, performed an act that was worthy of perpetuation, and that ought to be perpetuated, as is now tardily being done? One of them, young Todd, was killed early in the morning by the Mutineers, while endeavouring to re-establish telegraphic communication with Meerut, from which direction the revolted troops were advancing. The second, Pilkington, died about ten years later. But the third, Brendish, who sent off the historic message to Umballa that has been so often quoted, describing the arrival of the Mutineers and the events in Delhi, is still amongst us. He is here to-day to see this memorial erected to his bravery and to that of his comrades, and it must be a proud event to him to look back through the long vista of years, and in advanced life to see this public recognition of deeds in which he bore a share when a boy, and to be made the recipient of a special honour at the hands of his Sovereign.

I was delighted when Mr. Pitman, then Director-General of Telegraphs, consulted me, during my first year in India, as to the propriety of erecting this memorial. I enthusiastically supported the idea, because I hold that the brave and noble deeds of men ought to be publicly commemorated in honour to themselves and as an example to others. I do not mean that, should the situation recur—which God forbid—other men would be drawn to do similar deeds by the recollection that their forerunners had been honoured for doing the like before. For these heroic acts are not deliberately performed. They are done on the spur of the moment, without forethought, by those who are by instinct patriotic and courageous. But I do say that, whatever in life or in history lifts humanity above the ordinary level, and makes us forget the petty and the squalid, of which there is unfortunately so much in our midst, whatever shows human character in its higher aspect, namely, as resourceful, unselfish, and daring—that that is worthy of being held up to praise for the sake of posterity; and that its public commemoration cannot fail to leave its mark upon the minds of future generations. The bad and low in humanity is sufficiently prominent while it exists. Let us, then, bury it and put it out of sight. But the honourable and glorious—this let us seize hold of and identify, and let it live for ever.

My second reflection is this. I have heard it argued by some that incidents like the Black Hole of Calcutta, the Cawnpore massacre, the defence of the Residency at Lucknow, the fighting and siege of Delhi, in which the British and Native races of India have been in conflict, ought not to be commemorated, but ought, so to speak, to be slurred over and wrapped up in oblivion. Indeed, one ingenious gentleman wrote a long work to prove that the Black Hole incident at Calcutta had never taken place, because some people who were not there had in their writings not said anything about it. I hold precisely the opposite view about all these cases. Tragedies and horrors and disasters do occur in the history of men, and it is useless to pretend that they do not. In the history of India they have not been wanting; and, as in the case of the Mutiny, there have been instances where the racial element was

introduced, and where there were deeds of blackness and shame. But that is no reason for ignoring them. Pass over them the sponge of forgiveness ; blot them out with the finger of mercy and of reconciliation. But do not pretend that they did not take place, and do not, for the sake of a false and mawkish sentiment, forfeit your chance of honouring that which is worthy of honour. All these events are wayside marks in the onward stride of time. God Almighty placed them there ; and if some of the stepping-stones over which the English and the Indian people in this country have marched to a better understanding, and a truer union, have been slippery with human blood, do not ignore or cast them away. Rather let us wipe them clear of their stains, and preserve them intact for the teaching of those that come after.

I think that this view becomes even more important and true when we remember that, in many of these cases, it was not the white men on one side and the Indians on the other. In the Mutiny, as is well known, there was no such general division. In the Telegraph Department, as elsewhere, there were many of the Native clerks who stood loyally to their service and their masters in those terrible days. When I was in Lucknow I was delighted to see the memorial which Lord Northbrook, when Viceroy, had set up there to the Native troops who perished in the defence of the Residency. They merited equal honour with the white men who fell. Similarly, in the present case, I learn that among the subscribers to this memorial have been more than 300 Natives of India, at present connected with the Telegraph Department. This shows that their views are identical with those which I have expressed, and that they are as proud of the deeds of the Delhi European Telegraphic Staff of May 1857 as any Europeans can be. Should the occasion ever arise, I doubt not that many of them, at the risk of life, would be ready to follow the same example.

I have only two further observations to make. Though this obelisk commemorates in particular the services of the Delhi signallers, Pilkington and Brendish, and the assistant, Todd, it also records the names of more than a dozen other

members of the Telegraph Department who perished in the discharge of their duty in other parts of Northern India during the Mutiny. It was a mysterious dispensation of Providence that had allowed for the practical completion of a chain of electric telegraph throughout Northern India just before the Mutiny broke out. Where we should have been without it who can tell? The wires were constantly cut, and many brave officers were killed. But many others stuck to their posts unceasingly and unflinchingly; the work was every whit as important, and not less risky, than that of the military; and in the defeat of the rebels, and in the re-establishment of British power, the Indian Telegraph Department will always have the pride of remembering that it bore no mean or inconspicuous part.

Finally, it gives me great pleasure, as the representative of our illustrious Sovereign, to pin this medal of the Victorian Order on to the breast of William Brendish, the survivor of those immortal days. I felt that in his Coronation year His Majesty would like to honour this old and faithful servant who had helped to save the British Empire in India nearly half a century gone by; and accordingly I wrote to His Majesty and placed before him the facts of the case. He sent me this medal in reply, and asked me to confer it, with an expression of his gracious interest and esteem, upon the retired veteran who earned fame as a young lad in those imperishable scenes that were enacted within a few hundred yards of this very spot forty-five years ago. I now gladly comply with His Majesty's behest as regards Brendish, and I also proceed to unveil this Monument.

HOLWELL MONUMENT, CALCUTTA

On December 19, 1902, the Viceroy unveiled the reproduction of the Howell Monument, which he had presented to the City of Calcutta in memory of the Europeans who perished on the 20th June 1756, in the adjoining prison of old Fort William, known as the Black Hole. The original monument stood at the north-west corner of Tank Square, now known as Dalhousie Square, between what are now the Custom House and Writers' Buildings, and it was erected by Holwell, one of the survivors of the Black Hole, and

afterwards Governor of Fort William, over the bodies of those who had died, which were thrown on the next morning into the ditch outside the East gate of the Fort. The new monument is on the same site, and is a reproduction of the old design in marble instead of brick and plaster. The Viceroy spoke as follows:—

I daresay that the worthy citizens of Calcutta may have been a good deal puzzled on many occasions during the past four years to see me rummaging about this neighbourhood and that of the adjoining Post Office in the afternoons, poking my nose into all sorts of obscure corners, measuring, marking, and finally ordering the erection of marble memorials and slabs. This big pillar which I am now about to unveil, and the numerous tablets on the other side of the street, are the final outcome of these labours. But let me explain how it is that they have come about and what they mean.

When I came out to India in this very month four years ago, one of the companions of my voyage was that delightful book *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, by Mr. Busteed, formerly well known as an officer in the Calcutta Mint, and now living in retirement at home. There I read the full account of the tragic circumstances under which the old Fort William, which stood between the site where I am now speaking and the river, was besieged and taken by the forces of Siraj-ud-Dowlah in 1756; and of the heroism and sufferings of the small band of survivors who were shut up for an awful summer's night in June in the tiny prison known as the Black Hole, with the shocking result that of the 146 who went in only 23 came out alive. I also read that the monument which had been erected shortly after the disaster by Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors, who wrote a detailed account of that night of horror, and who was afterwards Governor at Fort William, in order to commemorate his fellow-sufferers who had perished in the prison, had been taken down, no one quite knows why, in or about the year 1821; and Mr. Busteed went on to lament, as I think very rightly, that whereas for sixty years after their death Calcutta had preserved the memory of those unhappy victims, ever since that time, now eighty years ago, there had been no monument, not even a slab or an inscription, to record their names and their untimely fate.

It was Mr. Busteed's writings accordingly that first called my attention to this spot, and that induced me to make a careful personal study of the entire question of the site and surroundings of old Fort William. The whole thing is now so vivid in my mind's eye that I never pass this way, without the Post Office and Custom House and the modern aspect of Writer's Buildings fading out of my sight, while instead of them I see the walls and bastions of the old Fort exactly behind the spot where I now stand, with its Eastern gate, and the unfinished ravelin in front of the gate, and the ditch in front of the ravelin, into which the bodies of those who had died in the Black Hole were thrown the next morning, and over which Holwell erected his monument a few years later.

Nearly twenty years ago Mr. Roskell Bayne, of the East Indian Railway, made a number of diggings and measurements that brought to light the dimensions of the old Fort, now almost entirely covered with modern buildings ; and I was fortunate enough when I came here to find a worthy successor to him and coadjutor to myself in the person of Mr. C. R. Wilson, of the Indian Education Department, who had carried Mr. Bayne's inquiries a good deal further, cleared up some doubtful points, corrected some errors, and fixed with accuracy the exact site of the Black Hole and other features of the Fort.¹ All of these sites I set to work to commemorate while the knowledge was still fresh in our minds. Wherever the outer or inner line of the curtain and bastions of old Fort William had not been built over I had them traced on the ground with brass lines let into stone—you will see some of them on the main steps of the Post Office—and I caused white marble tablets to be inserted in the walls of the adjoining buildings with inscriptions stating what was the part of the old building that originally stood there. I think there are some dozen of these tablets in all, each of which tells its own tale.

¹ Mr. C. R. Wilson, since unfortunately dead, also constructed under Lord Curzon's instructions a beautiful model in teak wood of old Fort William and the Black Hole, which is exhibited in the Victoria Memorial Collection at Calcutta ; and he further wrote an explanatory pamphlet, which is on sale there. His larger work on the same subject is now being brought out in the new Records Series of the Government of India.

I further turned my attention to the site of the Black Hole, which was in the premises of the Post Office, and could not be seen from the street, being shut off by a great brick and plaster gateway. I had this obstruction pulled down, and an open iron gate and railings erected in its place. I had the site of the Black Hole paved with polished black marble, and surrounded with a neat iron railing, and, finally, I placed a black marble tablet with an inscription above it, explaining the memorable and historic nature of the site that lies below. I do not know if cold-weather visitors to Calcutta, or even the residents of the city itself, have yet found out the existence of these memorials. But I venture to think that they are a permanent and valuable addition to the possessions and sights of the Capital of British rule in India.

At the same time I proceeded to look into the question of the almost forgotten monument of Holwell. I found a number of illustrations and descriptions of it in the writings of the period, and though these did not in every case precisely tally with each other, yet they left no doubt whatever as to the general character of the monument, which consisted of a small pillar or obelisk rising from an octagonal pedestal, on the two main faces of which were inscriptions written by Holwell, with the names of a number of the slain. Holwell's monument was built of brick covered over with plaster, like all the monuments of the period in the old Calcutta cemeteries; and I expect that it must have been crumbling when it was taken down in 1821, for I have seen a print in which it was represented with a great crack running down the side, from the top to the base, as though it had been struck by lightning. I determined to reproduce this memorial with as much fidelity as possible in white marble, to re-erect it on the same site, and to present it as my personal gift to the city of Calcutta in memory of a never-to-be-forgotten episode in her history, and in honour of the brave men whose life-blood had cemented the foundations of the British Empire in India. This pillar accordingly, which I am about to unveil, is the restoration to Calcutta of one of its most famous landmarks of the past, with some slight alteration of proportion, since the exact dimensions of

Holwell's original pillar were found to be rather stunted when placed in juxtaposition to the tall buildings by which it is now surrounded. There is some reason to think, from the evidence of old maps, that the ditch in which the bodies were interred and the earlier monument above them were situated a few yards to the eastwards of the site of the new monument: and I had excavations made last summer to see whether we could discover either the foundations of Holwell's obelisk, or any traces of the burial below them. The edge of the old ditch was clearly found, but nothing more. However, that we are within a few feet of the spot where those 123 corpses were cast on the morning of the 21st of June 1756, there can be no shadow of a doubt, and their memory is now preserved, I hope for ever, within a few yards of the spot where they suffered and laid down their lives.

There are, however, two very material alterations that I have made in the external features of the monument. Holwell's inscriptions, written by himself with the memory of that awful experience still fresh in his mind, contained a bitter reference to the personal responsibility for the tragedy of Siraj-ud-Dowlah, which I think is not wholly justified by our fuller knowledge of the facts, gathered from a great variety of sources, and which I have therefore struck out as calculated to keep alive feelings that we would all wish to see die. Further, though Holwell's record contained less than 50 names out of the 123 who had been suffocated in the Black Hole, I have, by means of careful search into the records both here and in England, recovered not only the Christian names of the whole of these persons, but also more than 20 fresh names of those who also died in the prison. So that the new monument records the names of no fewer than 60 of the victims of that terrible night.

In the course of my studies, in which I have been ably assisted by the labours of Mr. S. C. Hill, of the Record Department, who is engaged in bringing out a separate work on the subject.¹ I have also recovered the names of more than 20 other Europeans who, though they did not actually die in the Black Hole, yet were either killed at an earlier stage of the Siege, or having come out of the Black

¹ This work has now appeared, entitled *Bengal in 1756-7*, 3 vols., 1905.

Hole alive, afterwards succumbed to its effects. These persons seem to me equally to deserve commemoration with those who were smothered to death in the prison, and accordingly I have entered their names on the remaining panels of this monument. We therefore have inscribed on this memorial the names of some 80 persons who took part in those historic events which established the British dominion in Bengal nearly a century and a half ago. They were the pioneers of a great movement, the authors of a wonderful chapter in the history of mankind: and I am proud that it has fallen to my lot to preserve their simple and humble names from oblivion, and to restore them to the grateful remembrance of their countrymen.

In carrying out this scheme I have been pursuing one branch of a policy to which I have deliberately set myself in India, namely, that of preserving, in a breathless and often thoughtless age, the relics and memorials of the past. To me the past is sacred. It is often a chronicle of errors and blunders and crimes, but it also abounds in the records of virtue and heroism and valour. Anyhow, for good or evil, it is finished and written, and has become part of the history of the race, part of that which makes us what we are. Though human life is blown out as easily as the flame of a candle, yet it is something to keep alive the memory of what it has wrought and been, for the sake of those who come after; and I daresay it would solace our own despatch into the unknown, if we could feel sure that we too are likely to be remembered by our successors, and that our name was not going to vanish altogether from the earth when the last breath has fled from our lips.

I have been strictly impartial in carrying out this policy, for I have been equally keen about preserving the relics of Hindu and Musulman, of Brahman and Buddhist, of Dravidian and Pathan. European and Indian, Christian and non-Christian are to me absolutely alike in the execution of this solemn duty. I draw no distinction between their claims. And therefore, I am doing no more here than I have done elsewhere, if I turn to the memories of my own countrymen, and if I set up in the capital of the Indian Empire this tardy tribute to their sacrifice and suffering.

How few of us ever pause to think about the past, and our duty to it, in the rush and scurry of our modern lives. How few of us who tread the streets of Calcutta from day to day ever turn a thought to the Calcutta past. And yet Calcutta is one great graveyard of memories. Shades of departed Governors-General hover about the marble halls and corridors of Government House, where I do my daily work. Forgotten worthies in ancient costumes haunt the precincts of this historic square. Strange figures, in guise of peace or war, pass in and out of the vanished gateways of the vanished fort. If we think only of those whose bones are mingled with the soil underneath our feet, we have but to walk a couple of furlongs from this place to the church-yard¹ where lies the dust of Job Charnock, of Surgeon William Hamilton, and of Admiral Watson, the founder, the extender, and the saviour of the British dominion in Bengal. A short drive of two miles will take us to the most pathetic site in Calcutta, those dismal and decaying Park Street Cemeteries where generations of by-gone Englishmen and Englishwomen, who struggled and laboured on this stage of exile for a brief span, lie unnamed, unremembered, and unknown. But if among these forerunners of our own, if among these ancient and, unconscious builders of Empire, there are any who especially deserve commemoration, surely it is the martyr band whose fate I recall and whose names I resuscitate on this site; and if there be a spot that should be dear to the Englishman in India, it is that below our feet which was stained with the blood and which closed over the remains of the victims of that night of destiny, the 20th of June 1756. It is with these sentiments in my heart that I have erected this monument, and that I now hand it over to the citizens of Calcutta, to be kept by them in perpetual remembrance of the past.

¹ St. John's Church, formerly the Cathedral Church of Calcutta, built and opened in the time of Warren Hastings.

IRRIGATION

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1899

THE subject of Irrigation is one that appeals very closely to my concern. We are all familiar with the aphorism about the service of the statesman who can make two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, and in India we do not need to be reminded of the direct and almost immediate benefit to the agrarian class that results from an increase in the area of cultivation. I shall not embark upon any discussion of the rival advantages of Irrigation and Railways, because such a discussion would not be germane to this debate, and is in reality futile. The Government of India has never been inclined to balance its duties in these respects one against the other, and would, I think, be unwise to do so. Nevertheless the annual allotment of 75 lakhs which has for some time been made to irrigation might, I think, with advantage be extended; and I have persuaded Sir J. Westland in his estimate for the forthcoming year to give me another 10 lakhs for that purpose.¹ I had asked for more, and he would have been willing to give me more. But a scheme of irrigation is not a project upon which you can start quite as expeditiously or as easily as you can upon a railroad. In the first place, the best areas for the purpose have already been utilised. Fresh schemes are likely to be less profitable, and therefore require more

¹ It is often ignorantly supposed that the annual grant made by the Government of India for irrigation represents the total Indian expenditure on that object. It is only the sum raised by loan in each year towards capital expenditure on larger works.

consideration, than their predecessors. In the next place, very careful surveys require to be made, levels have to be taken, a staff must be got together, an investigation of existing rights has in all probability to be undertaken. It is not the case, therefore, as is sometimes imagined, that as soon as the cheque is drawn, it can at once, so to speak, be cashed in terms of tanks and canals. For these reasons it has been found that we are not in a position in the forthcoming year to spend more than an additional 10 lakhs upon irrigation ; although in succeeding years, if our finances continue to flourish, I hope that we may present to you a more extended programme.

ADDRESS FROM CHENAB COLONISTS

On April 3, 1899, Lord Curzon visited Lyallpur, the headquarters of the Chenab Irrigation District, already a flourishing town on a site which, till a few years before, had been a desert. In reply to an address from the colonists, he spoke as follows :—

A new Viceroy coming out to India learns many interesting lessons and sees many surprising things. Among the most novel and gratifying of these is the operation of that great system of Irrigation which in England we dimly know has filled up immense blanks upon the map of India, has made the wilderness to blossom like a rose, and has provided sustenance and livelihood to millions of human workers. What we do not and cannot know there is the sort of experience that I have been able to derive to-day from a visit to the actual scene of one of these beneficent reclamations, and from a study of the reports and information presented to me in connection therewith. The Punjab has been one of the main fields of this particular application of the energies and resources of the Government of India ; and it may interest any of my fellow-countrymen in England under whose eyes these words may subsequently fall to know that at the present time in the Punjab alone we have constructed 4500 miles of main and branch canals, not including 10,500 miles of smaller distributaries ; that the total area irrigated by these means, which in 1868 amounted

only to 1,000,000 acres, in 1878 to 1,300,000 acres, and in 1888 to 2,300,000 acres, has risen, owing to the startling progress of the last decade, to 5,200,000 acres in 1898 ; that the value of the crops which the irrigated area produces is estimated at ten millions sterling ; that the total capital outlay on the irrigation works of the Punjab has been nearly six millions sterling ; and that the net revenue was over 90 lakhs of rupees, or £600,000 in 1898, or a return upon the capital expenditure of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Though statistics are commonly said to be prosaic and dull, I venture to think that in these figures, with their astonishing upward march, and with the evidences of sound finance with which they teem, there is an element of romance that almost surpasses in its dramatic surprise the more solid interest attaching to a far-sighted and successful effort of Imperial administration.

And now I turn to the particular project and locality which have tempted me here to-day, and which I have spent a pleasurable morning and afternoon in examining. When I am informed that four years ago the place in which I am now speaking, and which has the appearance of a flourishing township and mart of agricultural produce, was a barren and uninhabited jungle ; and that there are now 1000 separate villages in a settlement that, eight years ago, existed only on paper, I confess that I doubt whether the records of the Far West, where towns are said to spring up like mushrooms almost in a night, can show any result more wonderful or more gratifying. Here was an area of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of what is known as waste land. The big dam across the Chenab was commenced in 1889. It was finished in 1892. At the end of the year that has just closed 1,000,000 acres have already been brought under irrigation ; there has been a capital outlay of $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ million sterling ; the net revenue in 1898 was 16 lakhs of rupees, or a return of nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Now that the annually irrigated area has reached a million acres, it is estimated that the total value of the crops raised in a single year equals the capital cost of the entire works ; and I have little doubt that the ultimate returns on the expenditure will nearly, if it does not quite, double the present amount.

On the land thus reclaimed has been planted a large and prosperous peasant population with allotments of from 20 to 30 acres each, upon which they enjoy perpetual and heritable rights of occupancy. Other portions of the land have been bestowed as rewards upon pensioners of the Native Army, and upon yeoman grantees, or have been sold or leased to capitalists. There is believed to be a population of over 200,000 persons now, in a district which six years ago was almost without an inhabitant. Where at that time emigrants could with difficulty be found for what appeared to be a precarious venture, there is now almost a rush of would-be settlers; and great care is required in sifting the numerous applications for grants. I have only to look about me in order to note the air of contentment and affluence that everywhere prevails. If ever there was a case in which has been realised the ambition of statesmen as described by our English poet—

To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes.

it would seem to be in this favoured corner of the Province of the Punjab.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 28, 1900

A suggestion that is frequently made to me, I admit as a rule from the outside of India, where I am afraid that a good deal of ignorance of the actual position prevails, is that the obvious method to stop famines is to introduce Irrigation. Some of these writers seem to plume themselves upon the originality of the idea, and to be unaware that such a thing as irrigation has ever been heard of in India, or has been so much as attempted here. They do not seem to realise that irrigation has been going on in India for quite a considerable number of years, that about 19 millions of acres in India are already under irrigation, and that upon the works so undertaken has been spent a capital outlay of no less than $25\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. Worthy

people write me letters, based upon the hypothesis that any Indian river which ultimately discharges its waters into the sea is really so much agricultural wealth gone astray, which somehow or other the Government of India ought to have got hold of at an earlier stage, and turned into crops and gardens. Now I have had a very careful estimate made out for me of the extent of *fresh* ground in the whole of India which we are likely to be able to bring under cultivation, either by new irrigation projects, or by extensions of existing systems. Under the head of Productive works, *i.e.* works which may be expected to yield a net revenue that will more than cover the interest on the capital outlay, the estimated increment is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, and the estimated outlay between 8 and 9 millions sterling. Under the head of Protective works, *i.e.* works which will not pay, and which, inasmuch as they constitute a permanent financial burden on the State, can only be undertaken in exceptional cases, and then as a rule do very little towards the prevention of famine, we contemplate spending about 10 lakhs a year, and shall probably in this way about double the area of 300,000 acres which is covered by that character of work at the present time. It seems therefore that the total practicable increase to the irrigable area of India under both heads will not amount to much more than 4,000,000 acres. This increase will, of course, be of value in its addition to the total food-supply of the country, in the employment of labour thereby given, and in its effect upon prices in time of famine. But I am afraid that it cannot be expected to secure immunity from drought to districts now liable to famine, or to help directly their suffering inhabitants. Indeed, when a desert track is brought under cultivation, a stimulus is given to the growth of population, and more mouths have in time to be fed. The fact remains that the majority of the irrigation works that were most feasible, or most urgently required as protective measures against famine, have now been carried out, and that there is not in irrigation that prospect of quite indefinite expansion with which the popular idea sometimes credits it. At the same time, I am so much in agreement with the general proposition, which has received a good

deal of support from many quarters in the course of the present debate, that irrigation should be encouraged, both because of the extension thereby given to the growth of food-supplies in this country, and because, in the case of what are known as productive works, of the extraordinarily remunerative character of the capital outlay, that I have inaugurated, since I came to India, a definite and, as I hope, a permanent extension (so long as we can find the works to undertake) of our Irrigation programme. In my predecessor's time, the annual Irrigation grant amounted to 75 lakhs. Last year I persuaded Sir James Westland to increase this; and in the financial year just expired we have spent 90 lakhs, some of it being directly applied to the provision of labour in famine districts; while, during the forthcoming year, in spite of the general curtailment of our programme owing to famine, I have prevailed upon Mr. Dawkins to fix the Irrigation grant at 100 lakhs, or 1 crore of rupees. I am hopeful that generosity in this respect will not be a misplaced virtue, either in the direct returns that it will bring in, or in its general effect upon the prosperity of the country. For the reasons that I have named, I doubt whether irrigation can continue to do as much in the future as it has done in the past, owing to the gradual exhaustion of the majority of the big schemes. Still, even if our sphere of action is less grandiose and spacious than in bygone days, I believe that, for a long time to come, and certainly during my day, we shall find more than enough to occupy our funds with smaller and less ambitious designs.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1901

I spoke last year of the limitations attending a too ambitious Irrigation programme, and of the fields of investigation and activity still open to us. During the last two years I have persuaded my financial colleague to raise the annual grant to one crore instead of the three-quarters of a crore to which it was confined when I came out to India. It is not always possible to spend this sum, for considerable time

is required in the preparation of the various schemes ; and last year, although we granted one crore, we only succeeded in expending 90 lakhs of rupees. In the present year we have gone much further. I pledged myself in my famine speech at Simla in October to conduct an inquiry into the irrigation branch of the famine question. I want to be quite sure that no sources of water-supply or water-storage are neglected or ignored in this country. They may not always be great rivers flowing down unimpeded to the sea, though people at home seem to think that any river ought to be capable of being tapped in the Himalayas, and diffused either into the Central Provinces, or Guzerat, or Berar. Neither do I postulate everywhere profitable or remunerative schemes. What I want to ensure is that in each province the sources of water-supply best suited to it, whether they be canals, or tanks, or wells, shall be scientifically investigated and mathematically laid down, so that we may be presented with a continuous programme which we may pursue in ordinary years as an insurance against the bad years when these come. If only people would give one some credit for common sense in the matter instead of writing to me as they do every week from all parts of the world to acquaint me with the astonishing discovery that they have for the first time made, namely, that no more famines need ever take place in India if only I would cut canals to the Himalayas or build reservoirs on the top of rainless plateaux, I should be very grateful. It is no good flogging a willing horse. No Government of India has ever been more profoundly impressed with the importance of encouraging irrigation than this. As I have said, it is one of the twelve problems, and I should have thought that the Resolution recently issued with the orders that it contained, foreshadowing a sustained investigation of all irrigation projects in the possible areas of famine in the forthcoming autumn preparatory to a Commission in the ensuing winter, could have satisfied even the most exacting critic of the thoroughness and sincerity of our intentions. The Hon. Mr. Charlu has, nevertheless, complained that no such detailed or defined scheme is contained in the present Budget. I am afraid that he has never read the

Resolution to which I refer. Anyhow I would beg him to give us a little time. It is not for the Finance Department to usurp the function of the Engineers. As soon as these have given us their reports, we are ready to set to work. The extra charge of the operations which we have ordered will be debited to the Famine Insurance Grant, and my hope is that its outcome may be a sustained policy of protective even if non-productive hydraulic works for a number of years to come.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 29, 1905

Next I turn to Irrigation. It is five years since I last alluded at any length to this subject in a Budget Debate. I then discussed the possibilities of irrigational expansion that seemed to lie before us in India, and speaking upon the authority of my expert advisers, I indicated the limits, physical rather than financial, that appeared to exist to such expansion, and answered the popular misapprehension that because India is a land of great rivers and heavy rains, it is therefore possible to capture all that surplus water, and to utilise it either for the extension of cultivation or for the prevention of famine. After that came the Famine of 1900; and as a sequel to the Famine it seemed to me that this matter, so vital to the future of India, should be re-examined by the very highest authorities whom we could find, visiting every part of the country, examining into local conditions, programmes, and needs, approaching the matter from the point of view of protection against famine rather than of remunerative investment of State funds, and presenting us with an authoritative pronouncement upon the capabilities for further irrigation of the whole of British India, and of the extent of the obligation both in State irrigation and in the encouragement of private enterprise which Government might legitimately assume. That was the genesis of the Commission presided over by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff which was appointed in the autumn of 1901,

and which, after an investigation that extended over two cold weathers, finally reported in April 1903.

I wonder how many of the hon. members whom I am now addressing, and still more how many of the outside public, have read their Report. To me the first part of it, which relates to general considerations, is infinitely more interesting than a novel, for it deals not with the hypothetical problems of human character, but with the positive agencies that affect the growth or decline of human life; and it bases conclusions dramatic in their sweep upon premises of scientific precision. By slow but sure degrees ever since, we have been assimilating and taking action upon that Report; and our final views and orders upon it will shortly see the light.

As this is the last occasion upon which I shall ever speak at any length upon this subject in India, let me summarise the situation as it now stands. There are two classes of Irrigation in this country, State Irrigation, *i.e.* works constructed or maintained by the State, and Private Irrigation, conducted by communities or individuals, largely by means of wells. I am here only concerned with the former. I need not before an Indian audience expatiate upon the distinction, so familiar in our Reports and Budget Statements, between Major and Minor works, Productive and Protective works. Major works are either Productive, in which case we find the money for them out of surplus revenue or from loans, or Protective, in which case we provide for them from the annual Famine Grant of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores; the distinction between Productive and Protective being that the former are expected to prove remunerative, though they have not always been so, while the latter are not expected to be remunerative at all. In other words, Productive works are, or may be, protective also; but protective works are not expected to be productive. Minor works are those which we undertake entirely out of the revenue of the year. Now let me say what our outlay upon all these works up till the present hour has been, and what the property thus created represents. The Government of India have spent in all $46\frac{1}{2}$ crores or 31 millions sterling upon State Irrigation works in all the above classes. With it

they have dug nearly 50,000 miles of canals and distributaries, they have irrigated an area of $21\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, out of a total irrigated area in British India of about 47 million acres, and they derive from it a net revenue of £2,700,000 per annum or a percentage of net revenue on capital outlay of approximately 7 per cent. If we capitalise the net revenue at 25 years' purchase, we obtain a total of $67\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling or considerably more than double the capital outlay. These figures are an indication of what has already been done. Next, what are we going to do or what are we capable of doing? In my first year in India I went to see the Chenab Canal in the Punjab, which had been finished a few years earlier. At that time it irrigated 1,000,000 acres, it now irrigates 2,000,000; at that time it had cost $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, there have now been spent upon it 2 millions; at that time it supported a population of 200,000 persons, the population is now over 1,000,000, and this huge aggregate is diffused over an expanse, now waving with corn and grain, that but a few years ago was a forsaken waste.¹ Since then we have completed the Jhelum Canal, which already irrigates 300,000 acres, and will irrigate $\frac{3}{4}$ million. Everywhere these lands, once waste and desolate, are being given out to colonisation; and the Punjab Province, if it lost the doubtful prestige of the Frontier with its disturbing problems and its warring tribes, has gained instead the solid asset of a contented and peaceful peasantry that will yearly swell its resources and enhance its importance. Then you have heard of the fresh obligations which we have since undertaken in the same quarter; $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling have just been sanctioned for the group of canals known as the Upper Chenab, the Upper Jhelum, and the Lower Bari Doab. Before another decade has elapsed 2,000,000 more acres will have been added to the irrigated area, with a proportionate increase in the population, and with an estimated return of 10 per cent on the capital outlay. So much for the near future. Now let me look a little further ahead, and come to the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission. They have advised an additional expenditure of 44 crores or nearly

¹ Compare p. 450.

30 millions sterling, spread out over twenty years, or an annual average expenditure of $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling. We accept that estimate; we regard it as reasonable; and we hope to be able to provide the funds. This will increase the area under irrigation in British India by $6\frac{1}{2}$ million acres as compared with the 4 millions which I mentioned five years ago, the difference being explained by the fact that as we draw towards the close of this gigantic programme we shall no longer be able to talk glibly of remunerative programmes or of lucrative interest on capital outlay, but shall find ourselves dealing with protective works, pure and simple, where no return or but little return is to be expected, and where we shall have to measure the financial burden imposed on the State against the degree of protection from scarcity and famine obtained for the people. I do not think that we need shrink from that more exacting test: for we shall have approached, if the metaphor may be permitted, the rocky passes in which our forces will then be engaged across smiling plains and verdant pastures, in which they will have derived strength and sustenance for the harder and less remunerative toil that will lie before them. I wish that we could proceed even faster. But that is out of the question. Canals are not like railways where companies are ready to find the money and to undertake the work, where an embankment can anywhere be thrown up by unskilled labour, and where the iron or steel plant that may be required can be ordered by telegram from Europe or the United States. In irrigation you have in the first place to find the funds from the borrowings of the State, which are not capable of unlimited expansion. You have to spend much time in preliminary investigations and surveys. You then have to obtain your labour for the particular work. It is estimated that to spend the amount which I have named a host of 280,000 workmen and coolies will be required for 250 days in each of the twenty years in addition to those required for the maintenance of the existing works and of the new ones as they come into operation. And finally you have to engage and train your skilled establishment which is a matter of careful recruitment, spread over a series of years. These

are the considerations that must always differentiate irrigation work from railway work in India, and that militate against the same rate of speed in the former. And then, when we have done all this, where shall we stand? We shall have done much, we shall have done what no other nation or country has done before. But the surplus water from the snows of the Himalayas and from the opened doors of heaven will still spill its unused and unusable abundance into the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The calculations show that of the total average rainfall of India, as much as 35 per cent, and a much larger proportion of the surface flow, amounting to 87 per cent, is carried away by rivers to the sea. The programme that I have sketched will at the most utilise only $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of this surface flow, and the remainder will still continue its aimless and unarrested descent to the ocean. Why is this? The answer is very simple, and to any one who has any knowledge of the meteorological or geographical features of this continent very clear. Rain does not always fall in India in the greatest volume where it is most needed. What Cherrapunji could easily spare Rajputana cannot for all the wealth of Crœsus obtain. Neither does rain fall all through the year in India. It descends in great abundance, within narrowly defined periods of time, and then it is often very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to store it. Providence does not tell us when a year of famine is impending, and we cannot go on holding up the water for a drought that may never come. It would be bad economy even if it were not a physical impossibility. Sometimes where water is most plentiful there is no use for it, because of the sterile or forbidding or unsuitable nature of the soil. Sometimes it flows down in blind superfluity through a country already intersected with canals. Sometimes it meanders in riotous plenty through alluvial plains where storage is impossible. Sometimes again the cost of storage is so tremendous as to be absolutely prohibitive. These are some, though by no means all, of the reasons which place an inexpugnable barrier to the realisation of academic dreams. Facts of this sort we may deprecate, but cannot ignore; and the time will never come when we can harness all that wealth of misspent and futile power, and convert it to the use of

man. What we can do, the Commission have told us ; what we mean to do I have endeavoured imperfectly to sketch out in these remarks. Restricted as is the programme, when measured against the prodigious resources of nature, it is yet the maximum programme open to human agency and to finite powers, and it is one that may well appeal either to the enthusiasm of the individual, or to the organised ability of the State. We are about to embark upon it with the consciousness that we are not merely converting the gifts of Providence to the service of man, but that we are labouring to reduce human suffering and in times of calamity to rescue and sustain millions of human lives.

MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 28, 1900

I PASS to the question of Military Expenditure. The principal military incident of the past year has of course been the campaign in South Africa, to which we have lent a force of rather over 8000 British officers and men from India, as well as some 3000 natives for non-combatant services. Now, I myself should have been glad if the British Government had seen their way to employ some of our gallant native regiments, infantry, and perhaps still more cavalry, as well; and at an early stage in the war, I made the offer, on behalf of the Government of India, to send a large force. I should have been willing to send 10,000 men. I believe that, had the offer been accepted, it would have provoked an outburst of the heartiest satisfaction in this country, where the manifestations of loyalty have been so widespread, and, in my opinion, so conspicuously genuine. You must not imagine for a moment that the Home Government were indifferent to the offer, or were unconscious of the great display of patriotism in India that would have more than justified its acceptance. They were as well aware of these facts, and as grateful for the spirit displayed, as has been Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, who, throughout the war, has not ceased to press upon me her desire that I should lose no opportunity of testifying her admiration for the devoted loyalty of the Indian Princes, the Indian army, and the Indian people. Nor did the refusal of the offer involve the slightest slur upon the Native army. It was refused for more reasons than one. It was thought undesirable to import any racial

element into the contest. The British on one side were engaged in fighting the Boers on the other ; and, had other combatants been engaged, it might not have stopped at Indian forces. There was the further consideration that, had Great Britain transferred a portion of her Indian army to fight her battles in South Africa, an impression might have been produced that her own strength in white men was not sufficient for the strain of a second-class campaign ; an impression which might have had unfortunate consequences in its effect upon a local population perpetually hovering on the verge of revolt. For these reasons the offer was declined.

Now, it cannot be expected for one moment that a war so momentous—revolutionising all our ideas, and not ours alone, but those of the entire world, upon questions of armament, of tactics, and of the whole science and practice of warfare—should pass by without leaving a direct impress upon the military policy of India, as it will do upon that of every military power in the globe. A storm has taken place in the great ocean, the commotion caused by which will be felt thousands of miles away on every beach and shore. Here, as elsewhere, we shall require to set our own house in order, to overhaul our military machine, and to profit by the lessons learned. We have already set to work to do it. Do not imagine that this sort of reforms can anywhere be undertaken without an additional outlay. The first result of the Transvaal war will, I firmly believe, be an increase to the budget of every military nation in the world. If two small republics, however rich in money and in guns, could stand up for many months against the main strength of the British army, and could put the British nation to an expenditure which, before the entire bill is paid, may be nearer to 100 millions than 50, are we to stint the annual expenditure that may be required to protect the vast Empire of India, as large as the whole of Europe without Russia, against the infinitely more formidable dangers by which it may one day be threatened ? I venture to say that no sterner critic, and no more uncompromising foe of extravagance, or of levity in military expenditure, has ever entered the offices of the Government of India than myself. But at the same time, as head of that Government, I know my

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responsibilities, and, if my colleagues and I are convinced that the military protection of India against the perils by which she may be menaced absolutely require that this or that expenditure should be incurred, we shall not flinch from undertaking it. My greatest ambition is to have a peaceful time in India, and to devote all my energies to the work of administrative and material development, in which there are so many reforms that cry aloud to be undertaken. I see no present reason why those aspirations should be interrupted or destroyed. But I do not wish or mean to place myself in a position in which later on, should the peril come, public opinion shall be able to turn round upon me and say, "We trusted you; we would have given you what you asked for the legitimate defence of India. But you neither foresaw the future, nor gauged the present; and yours is the responsibility of failure, if failure there be."

I say, then, that I see no chance of a reduction in the military estimates for some time to come. There are many respects in which we can save, or in which expenditure can be overhauled, scrutinised, and cut down. In the present and following year, we shall make a very considerable saving in consequence of the Frontier Policy which has been inaugurated during the past twelve months, and in the withdrawal of regular troops serving beyond our administrative frontier. There are many such fields of possible reduction. But the sum total of these economies is small in relation to the heavy items of expenditure that cannot possibly be escaped. Take re-armament alone. Sir E. Collen¹ has told us in his Memorandum that the cost of re-arming the Native army and volunteers in India with a magazine rifle will amount to $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores by itself, and yet who would urge for a moment that the expenditure should not be undertaken, or should be unduly delayed? If we are spending over 12 crores in two years, as I have remarked in an earlier part of my speech, in saving 50 millions of people from the peril of death by starvation, shall we grudge the crores that may be required to save 300 millions of people from the perils—almost worse than death—of disorder, and anarchy, and chaos, that might ensue were the British arms on or beyond

¹ Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1896-1901.

the frontiers of India at any time to experience a serious disaster? Let not any one carry away the idea that because for a few months, or even for a year, we have been able to spare 8000 of our British troops for Africa, the British garrison in India can be permanently reduced by that amount. There can be no more complete or foolish illusion. Because a man lends for a night the watchdog that guards his house to a neighbour who is being attacked by robbers, does it, therefore, follow that his own house will be able to get on in future without protection? There is always some risk in denuding India of any considerable portion of her garrison. That risk is greater or less according to the conditions of the time, and the attitude of neighbouring powers. It was present upon the present occasion, and the late Commander-in-Chief and I, in deciding to lend to Her Majesty's Government a certain number of troops for South Africa—and here let me remark in passing that the papers have been wrong in speaking of the demands or orders of Her Majesty's Government, seeing that the latter have never done, and could not do, more than ask us to lend what we might be willing to spare—took upon ourselves to run that risk. But because we are likely to surmount it successfully on this occasion, would it be statesmanship to make the risk permanent?

I wonder if those persons who employ this curious argument would have said that, if we had been able to accept the offers of the various native Princes who so loyally proffered their personal services to the campaign, it was a proof that India could get on permanently without those Chiefs; or, supposing we had sent 10,000 or 20,000 native troops to South Africa, that the native army ought, therefore, in future, to be reduced by that number. Let no one, therefore, be taken in by this sort of argument. These are not days when the military strength of any empire is likely to be reduced. They are not days when the military strength of the Indian Empire can with safety be reduced. If Lord Dufferin could hold fourteen years ago that the present armed strength of India, which was raised by him to its present total, was necessary for the preservation of order in this great country, for the fulfilment of our engagements, and for the protection

of our boundaries, will any sensible man be found to tell me that anything has occurred since, whether it be in the experience of warfare in South Africa, or in the events that we hear of from day to day in Central Asia and on the borders of Afghanistan, to prove that we can now fulfil our obligations with less? No, there are two great duties of Imperial statesmanship in India. The first is to make all these millions of people, if possible, happier, more contented, more prosperous. The second is to keep them and their property safe. We are not going, for the sake of the one duty, to neglect the other. We would prefer to discharge our responsibility—and it is no light one—in respect of both.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 27, 1901

There is one heading of the estimates upon which I desire to say a word. I allude to the Military Estimates. They have been introduced in a statement and have been explained to-day in a speech by the Hon. Military Member, enumerating the very considerable reforms and additions which we have already undertaken, or are about to undertake, and summarising in a concise manner the principal measures of improvement that have been carried out in the Indian Army during the sixteen years with which, in one or another capacity—culminating in the highest—Sir E. Collen has been connected with the military administration of the Government of India. He is now retiring from our service with a record of long and honourable work, such as few administrators can point to, and that has left an enduring mark upon the *personnel*, the organisation, and the equipment of the Army in India. May I be allowed to congratulate him upon the record which he has so modestly compiled, and also upon the very substantial addition that he has been able to make to it during the past two years? I am sure that he will be willing to make the reciprocal acknowledgment that, although his proposals have never been more searchingly investigated than during the many

hours which the Members of the present Executive Council have spent at the Council Table in discussing with him the problems of our Military administration during the past year and a half, and although there are many respects in which we have not been able to concede the full measure of his demands, he has not in his long experience been associated with colleagues who were more profoundly impressed with the gravity of their responsibility for the defence of the Indian Empire, both to the inhabitants of this country, and to the larger unit of which India forms a part. I need not repeat to-day what I said in the Budget Debate last year. I gave a clear warning on that occasion that there would be a rise in the military estimates, and that rise has come. I am not in the least disturbed by the argument that all this military expenditure is a waste, and that the money had much better be spent upon projects of economic development. I would gladly spend the whole of our revenues in the latter way, but I say frankly that I dare not. The Army is required to make India safe; and it cannot be said that India is safe. In the event of an invasion or a campaign, those very theorists who are so fond of the phrase "bloated expenditure," and who denounce any attempt to make the Army more efficient that costs money, would be the first to run round and take shelter under the armaments whose expansion they had resisted. Exorbitant or ill-considered outlay, equally with them, I would decry; but my hon. colleague will bear me out that there is not an item in the new military expenditure of one million sterling in the forthcoming year which has not been exhaustively threshed out and sifted at the Council table, whether the outlay was half a lakh or twenty lakhs. He has given to Council in his Memorandum an indication of the objects to which this expenditure is to be devoted. They are not fanciful experiments, the emanation of the brain of the faddist or the doctrinaire. Still less do they spring from schemes of aggression or advance. There have never been two years in India less marked by a bellicose ambition. The purposes to which the money is to be devoted are such objects as rearmament of the entire Army with the latest weapon, the increase of our artillery and its supply with the

most modern guns, a very substantial addition of officers, the creation of an organised transport corps instead of the fumbling units which have hitherto been a substitute for it, the proper armament of our coast defences, the building of light railways with which to strengthen our frontier posts, the establishment of factories with which to turn out our own military material. I am far from saying that the list of necessary improvements is exhausted. Year by year the discussion has to be resumed in the light of fresh experience and of demonstrated needs. But at least no one can say that, while the whole world has been busy with military reform, we in India have stood still. I remember last autumn reading in the leading organ of the English press an article about the Indian Army. It was one of those rather sensational letters which, from the cover of anonymity, fling broadcast the accents of denunciation and doom. I never blame the writers of these productions; because their purpose is almost always honest, even where their knowledge is imperfect; and because their invective, though sometimes exaggerated, very often calls attention to positive blots. This particular writer declared that our armaments in India were hopelessly inadequate, our *personnel* insufficient, our equipment obsolete and absurd. How far these opinions are correct must be judged in the light of the information contained in the present Budget and in that of last year. But when the writer went on to say that nothing was being done, or, if being done, was being done so slowly and so incompletely as to be little better than absolute inaction, and that the Government of India was not in the least likely to take the necessary steps, he revealed an ignorance which was profound, and, if he possessed any opportunity of learning the facts, culpable.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 26, 1902

Sir E. Elles¹ in his Memorandum has given an account of the steady advance that is being made in the work of rendering our Indian Army, both European and Native, a

¹ Military Member of the Governor-General's Council, 1901-1905.

more efficient machine. There are some who contend that its numbers are too small for the gigantic task with which they might one day be confronted. There are others who argue that they are more than sufficient for everyday needs. Both parties will admit the cardinal importance of making the existing army as fit for its task as the application of the latest results, whether of military invention or of experience in the field, render possible ; and the present Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member have addressed themselves to this object with a business-like energy that finds its reflection in many notable reforms already achieved or in course of execution. The re-armament, both of infantry and cavalry, and of our batteries of artillery, which is being pursued with as much rapidity as the supply of weapons admits of, the reorganisation of the Madras Army by a bold infusion of the fighting blood of more northern races, the creation of a transport system with an existence other than on paper, the construction of light frontier railways, the endeavour to render India self - providing in respect of armaments and ammunition, large measures of administrative decentralisation, the reform of our horse-breeding establishments, the ventilation and lighting of our barracks by electricity, the settlement of the Cantonments difficulty by the legislation which has passed this Council ; and, above all, the addition of a large number of officers to the Indian Staff Corps—for there can be no doubt that for a long time our regiments have been sadly under-officered, and that it has been found well-nigh impossible to reconcile the standards of regimental efficiency with the numerous calls that are made upon the officers for service on the frontier, for non-military service in fighting famine and plague, and for service in other parts of the Empire (where the authorities seem to fancy the Indian officer more than they do any one else)—all these plans and projects I say, which have taken, or are taking, shape, mark a policy of sustained and steadfast advance. That we have been assisted in carrying them out by the handsome savings that have accrued to us from the absence of our troops at the Imperial expense in South Africa and China is well known. But we have had our setback in the extra charge that seems likely to be imposed

upon us in connection with the proposals of His Majesty's Government to raise the scale of pay of the British soldier. We had not anticipated, and we can hardly be expected to welcome, this charge, and we have placed our views upon it before His Majesty's Government.¹

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 30, 1904

It seems a natural transition from the objects at which we aim in our Frontier and Foreign Policy to the means that we possess for securing them, and I pass therefore to the question of our Military Estimates. The military expenditure is going up. Year after year I have foretold it at this table. But it is not going up at so high a rate as in foreign countries: and it is not going up at a higher rate than our necessities demand. I am well aware of the cry that is always raised against military expenditure anywhere, and I yield to no man in my desire to secure to the peaceful millions their due share in the improving prosperity of the country. We are giving it to them in no small measure. But their tranquil enjoyment of what we give is in itself dependent upon the guarantees that we can provide for its uninterrupted continuance, and he would be a faithless guardian of the interests of the people who shut his eyes to what is passing without in the contented contemplation of what is going on within. The matter could not have been better put than it was in the terse and effective remarks of the Hon. Sir E. Elles. We are fortunate in possessing as Commander-in-Chief the first soldier in the British Army.² He comes to us here with his unrivalled experience and energy. He is addressing himself to the problem of providing India with the army that she needs,

¹ The protest of the Government of India was ineffectual. The matter was referred to the arbitration of the Lord Chief Justice who decided that the Government of India must accept the charge. They were thus subjected to an annual charge of £786,000 upon the Indian revenues, for an object not required in India itself, and certain to be followed, sooner or later, by a demand for an increase of pay in the Native Army.

² Lord Kitchener.

and of equipping and distributing that army in the manner best adapted to secure the defence of the country. For this purpose the army must be efficient, not in units alone but as a whole, and not efficient alone, but as highly efficient as it is possible to make it: it must possess the latest armament: it must be adequately officered: its superior officers must be scientifically trained: it must be as far as possible self-supporting in its ammunition, its weapons, and its stores: its subordinate establishments must be not less effective than the fighting front: and the maximum available force must be capable of being directed to the vulnerable point at the moment of danger. All of these points are engaging the attention of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member, and I venture to say that their efforts, supplementing those of the two eminent commanders who have preceded them and who, alas, have both passed away,¹ are steadily placing the Indian Army more and more in a position to play its part should the occasion arise. I saw the other day a criticism in a well-informed quarter which said, Why does not the Viceroy, instead of spending money upon internal reform, turn his attention to adding British officers to the sadly under-officered Indian Army? The critic was right in his ideas, but he was wrong in his facts. The Viceroy to whom he alluded had not forgotten this elementary need: and during his term of office he can point to the fact that no fewer than 484 British officers have been so added. This is only one of many conspicuous needs that we have filled. Were I to attempt to recapitulate either what has already been done, or what is in the mind of the present Commander-in-Chief, I might detain this Council long. To me it will always be a gratification to think that I have assisted in measures for providing India with the factories at Ishapore, Cossipore, Jubbulpore, and Wellington, that will practically render her independent of external supplies in guns, rifles, and gunpowder, for raising the reserves of our splendid Native Army by 100 per cent, for equipping the entire army with the latest weapon, and for providing out of our surplus resources for such cardinal needs as coast and other defences.

¹ Sir W. Lockhart and Sir P. Palmer.

We live in days when even the strong man cannot leave his castle undefended ; and when our international rivals are closing in around us with intentions which he who runs may read. I am also glad to have been instrumental in relieving the hardships and reducing the risks of the British soldier's life in India by providing an electric-punkah installation in all our largest barracks, the cost of which will figure in our Budgets for some years to come.

EXTRACT FROM BUDGET SPEECH

March 29, 1905

Before I conclude I may perhaps be expected to say a word about the Military Estimates of the year. We have had the familiar attacks upon them in this debate. One hon. member spoke of the expenditure as inordinate and alarming. It is inordinate in the sense that it is beyond the ordinary. For now that we have ample means, we are utilising some of them, which in ordinary years we might not have been able to do, not merely to relieve the burden of the people, but to secure them from the possible future horrors of war. There is nothing to alarm in the increase. The situation would be much more alarming, if, with a rival Power building railways towards the Afghan frontier, we were to sit still and do nothing. It was not by so regarding military expenditure and equipment that our allies in the Far East have won those great victories that have extorted the admiration of the world. They saw the danger impending, and they set themselves steadily to prepare for it—with what results we all know. The lesson of the Russo-Japanese War is surely the most supreme vindication of preparation for war as contrasted with unreflecting confidence, that modern times have ever seen. The Commander-in-Chief has presented us with a scheme, which is the ripe product not only of his own great experience, but of years of discussion and anticipation in India itself, and whose sole object is so to organise our forces in peace, as to place the largest possible body of men, with the least dislocation, in the field in time of war. Until

universal peace reigns, which will not be in our day, the best custodian of his own house will still be the strong man armed ; and the Government of India, assured that they have the means, and reposing confidence in the ability of their military advisers, have accepted the scheme submitted to them, not without careful scrutiny of its features and details, but in the conviction that the heavy charge entailed will be repaid in the increased security that will be enjoyed by the country.

As regards the view which has been expressed in this debate that the expenditure should be provided for by loan, I join my financial colleague in dissenting from that opinion. Reference has been made to English practice. No one would have denounced such a proposal, under existing conditions, more strongly than Mr. Gladstone. I do not say that a military loan is everywhere unjustifiable. Were we on the brink of war, or were it the case that large military expenditure could only be met by incurring a deficit, or by imposing additional taxation which it was considered essential to avoid, then there might be a good case for a military loan. But with a full exchequer, and with a simultaneous reduction of taxation, I feel sure that every financier of repute would pronounce such a proposal to be without excuse. Moreover, it should be remembered that in England the National Debt is being steadily diminished by processes which are not adopted here : and that a military loan is there obliged to run the gauntlet of Parliament. The Government of India is sometimes taunted with its irresponsibility. Might it not be a serious thing if you encouraged that Government to shift on to future generations a burden which it was capable of bearing in its own time ? Might you not aggravate the very irresponsibility which is sometimes deplored ?

MOHAMMEDANS

ALIGARH COLLEGE

ON April 23, 1901, the Viceroy visited the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and addressed a large gathering of the students as follows:—

Since I have been in India I have had a most earnest desire to visit this College, and to see with my own eyes the work—a work as I think of sovereign importance—that is being carried on within its walls. This desire was stimulated by the acquaintance that I was fortunate enough to make with your late and first Principal, Mr. Theodore Beck, during my first summer in Simla. Mr. Beck was a remarkable man. He gave up a life and career in England, and devoted himself to the service of the Mohammedans of India, and to the making of the fortunes of this place. There burned within that fragile body—for when I saw him the seeds of his early death had, I suspect, already been sown—the fire of an ardent enthusiasm, for which in his own student days in England he had been notorious among his friends. But experience had tempered it with a sobriety of judgment, and a width of view, which, coupled with his high moral character must have supplied an inestimable example to his pupils in this College. As I followed his body to its grave among the Himalayan deodars, I felt that I was paying such small tribute of respect as lay in my power to one who had both been a faithful friend to the Mohammedans of India, and a benefactor of the commonweal. I afterwards had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of your present Principal, Mr. Morison, upon whom you have passed so high a eulogy, and who is so singularly qualified to carry on the work that

Mr. Beck began, and I promised him that I would visit the College as soon as I could. I made the attempt last autumn upon my return northwards from a famine tour in Guzerat. But I was informed that the College was then in vacation, and inasmuch as to come to Aligarh while the teachers and the boys were away would be like going to see the play of Hamlet on the stage with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out, I decided to postpone my visit till the earliest favourable occasion. This has now come, and I shall regard the afternoon that I am fortunate enough to spend in your company as among the most valuable and interesting of my experiences in India.

In the address that has just been read you have supplied me with a succinct account of the objects and history of this College. I cannot say that they were new to me, for a little while ago I had placed in my hands a volume of the addresses and speeches that have been delivered on the various occasions when the Aligarh College has been visited by public men. It was a collection of uncommon interest, for, on the one hand, in the statements that were from time to time put forward in addresses of welcome by the Committee, or trustees, one could follow step by step the progress of the College, from its first inception as a small school twenty-six years ago, to the present day, and could learn in what manner the aspirations of its illustrious founder¹ whose death you have justly deplored as an irreparable loss, had been realised. On the other hand, one could observe the impression which these events, and their narration, had made upon the minds of a number of eminent men. It is interesting to note in their speeches, delivered, I dare say, in this very hall, how a common train of reflection runs through the words of each. It has been a frequent observation that this College embodies the principle of self-help ; that it furnishes a moral and religious as well as a mental training, a point upon which I observe that you have laid much stress in your address this afternoon ; that it has nevertheless no sectarian character ; that it inculcates the importance of physical exercises ; that it imbues its pupils with a sense of citizenship and of loyalty ; and that it keeps aloof from political

¹ The late Sir Syed Ahmed.

questions. It will be much better for you that you should read the ideas which have been common to the many speeches to which I have referred, in language that has frequently been a model of expression, than that I should dress them up again with an inferior sauce for your consumption this afternoon.

I should like, however, for a moment to contemplate the work that is being carried on here as a branch of the larger problems with which those who are responsible for the future of this great and bewildering country are faced. If the British dominion in India were exterminated to-morrow, and if all visible traces of it were to be wiped off the face of the earth, I think that its noblest monument and its proudest epitaph, would be the policy that it has adopted in respect of Education. When I speak of policy I am not using the phrase in its narrow or administrative application—a sphere in which we have made many mistakes—but in the broadest sense. We have truly endeavoured to fling wide open the gates of the temple of knowledge, and to draw the multitudes in. We have sought to make education, not the perquisite or prerogative of a few, but the cheap possession of the many. History does not, I think, record any similarly liberal policy on the part of a Government differing in origin, in language, and in thought from the governed. In my judgment it has not only been an enlightened policy, it has also been a wise one; and I do not believe that you will ever have a Viceroy or a Lieutenant-Governor who will desire to close by one inch the opened door, or to drive out a single human being who has entered in. If this be the character, and, as I also contend, the permanence of the great movement that I am speaking of, how overwhelmingly important it is that no section of the community should fail to profit by the advantage which it offers. We have just crossed the threshold of the twentieth century. Whatever else it may bring forth, it is certain to be a century of great intellectual activity; of far-reaching scientific discovery; of probably unparalleled invention. To be without education in the twentieth century will be as though a knight in the feudal ages had been stripped of his helmet and spear and coat of mail. It will be a condition of serviceable existence, the

sole means for the majority of holding their own in a world of intellectual upheaval and competition. That is why it must be so gratifying to any ruler of India to see the Mohammedans of this country, Sunnis and Shias alike, exerting themselves not to be left at the starting-post while all their many rivals are pressing forward in the race. They can run, too, if only they will learn how ; they knew it once in the great days when Mohammedan rulers dispensed justice in their marble audience halls, and when Mohammedan philosophers, and jurists, and historians, wrote learned works. But the old running is now out of date ; a new and a swifter style has come in, and you must go to the seminaries, where are the professors of the modern art, to teach you the suppleness of limb and fleetness of foot that are required for the races of the future. I hold, therefore, that Sir Syed Ahmed, and those who worked with him to found this place, showed not only patriotism in the best sense of the term, but also a profound political insight ; for they were seeking to provide their co-religionists in India with the conditions that will alone enable them to recover any portion of their lost ascendancy ; and if I were a Mohammedan prince or man of wealth in India to-day, I would not waste five minutes in thinking how best I could benefit my countrymen and fellow-followers of the Prophet in this country. I would concentrate my attention upon education and upon education alone. That these are your own conclusions is evident from the frank and manly admissions of the address which has just been read. You say in it that only by the assimilation of Western thought and culture can the Mohammedans of India hope to recover any portion of their former sway. You are quite right. Adhere to your own religion, which has in it the ingredients of great nobility and of profound truth, and make it the basis of your instruction, for education without a religious basis is, though boys at school and at the University are often too young to see it, like building a house without foundations. But, consistently with these principles, press forward till you pluck the fruit of the tree of knowledge, which once grew best in Eastern gardens, but has now shifted its habitat to the West.

I am aware that the friends of this College have formu-

lated even higher ambitions than are embraced by your present character and scope. Mr. Beck spoke and wrote to me, with that enthusiasm of which I have already spoken, of his desire to expand this institution, which is already a residential College, into a residential University, with real professors, real lecturers, a living curriculum, and a definite aim. I may mention, too, that the project had reached the ears of Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, and that in one of the first letters that she wrote to me, after my arrival in India, she inquired most sympathetically about it. I believe that you have not yet, owing to financial and other impediments, been able to travel far upon this pathway, and, indeed, that there are some who doubt the policy of a sectarian institution at all. Upon this I am not called upon to pronounce an opinion. But one admission I do not shrink from making, namely, that you will never get from a University, consisting of little but an examining Board or Boards, that lofty ideal of education, that sustained purpose, or that spirit of personal devotion that are associated with the historic Universities of England, and that were, I believe, in some measure also produced by the ancient Universities of Islam.

And now, before I conclude, suffer me to say a few words to the younger members of my audience. I am still sufficiently near to my own College days to feel an intense interest in those who are passing through the same experience. It is a period of high hopes and sunny aspirations. All the world is before us, and we are ready to confront it with a smile on our faces, and an unwrinkled brow, since we have not learnt of its disappointments and sorrows. Day after day, as our study extends, the horizon of knowledge expands before us, and we feel as those mariners of the old world must have done who sailed out into unknown seas, and before whose wondering eyes, as each day dawned, new islands or fresh promontories rose continually into view. But it is not learning only that we are acquiring. We taste the pleasure of personal friendship, we feel the spur of honourable emulation, and we kindle the local patriotism or *esprit de corps*, out of which, as we grow older, springs that wider conception of public duty which makes us proud to be citizens of our country, and anxious to play some part,

whether great or small, on the public stage. All these are the delights and the novelties of our College days. Later on, perhaps, we learn that some of them are illusions, and very likely we fall short of our earlier ideals. That is the fate of humanity, or, perhaps I should say, it is the fault of ourselves. But, even if I knew that the hopes entertained by any young man of my acquaintance were destined to be disappointed later on, I would nevertheless not deprive him of the joy and zest of forming them. It is good for all of us to have had a time when the tide of hope ran high within us, and to have sailed our bark for a little while upon its shining waters. You will believe me, therefore, young men and students of this College, when I say that it is with peculiar sympathy that I have met you, and been allowed to address a few words to you, this afternoon. It is the sympathy of one who may, perhaps, still be entitled to call himself young, in the presence of those who are still younger. I wish you God-speed in your career, and I shall always rejoice to hear of the success in life of any of the pupils of Aligarh.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

February 15, 1902

THIS and the following speech were delivered by Lord Curzon in his capacity, not as head of the Government, but as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, in which capacity he presided on seven occasions at the annual Convocation and addressed the students.

I see before me a number of young men who have just taken their degrees, and who are about to go out into the world, some to serve Government, some to practise the law, some to be teachers, some to be journalists, some to follow other professional pursuits, some perhaps—but I hope not many—to do nothing at all. Yearly from the different Indian Universities a similar stream of the youth of the country pours forth, and is absorbed in the great whirlpool of life. How will they fare there, what fortune awaits them, will they rise to the surface by their character or their abilities, or will they get sucked under and submerged? Are the chances in their favour, or are there dangerous eddies and currents which are liable to draw them down? If the latter be the case, can the Chancellor of an Indian University, who, to a certain extent, is in the position of the master-navigator, under an obligation to study the chart and to be familiar with the movement of the winds and tides—can he offer them any friendly warning or counsel which may assist them in the ordeal with which they are confronted? If I assume this prerogative on the present occasion, pray believe that it is not from any confidence in my own power to act as a prophet or a guide, but rather from the intense interest that one who has just passed his

second youth—for I think that youth may be said to consist of two parts of twenty years each—cannot fail to take in those who are just passing the first.

It is an Indian audience that I am addressing, and it is therefore of Indian character, surroundings, and temptations that I propose to speak. Just as there are different storm-charts for different seas, so are there features inherent in physical and climatic surroundings, and characteristics associated with nationality or temperament, that differentiate the population of one country from that of another, and that suggests varieties of precept or admonition. For the moment I am an Englishman addressing Indians. If I were an Indian addressing Englishmen I daresay I might have a number of remarks to make that would be equally pertinent, though they might not be identical. Nothing in either case is easier than for a speaker to flatter his audience. I think that I could without difficulty construct a catalogue of the Indian virtues, for I knew them both by contact and by repute. You might applaud, but you would not go away any the wiser; while I should have gained nothing better than your ephemeral cheers. This is not what I want to do. I do not propose to-day to hold up a mirror to your merits. Let us accept them and put them in the back-ground. I want rather to see the dangers to which in the several professions that I have named you are liable, and to put you on your guard against what seems to me to be the temptations and the weaknesses that lie athwart your future careers.

A good many of you, as I have said, will probably enter, and I daresay that still more aspire to enter, the service of Government. I do not say that this is not an honourable ambition. Indeed, if it is synonymous with a desire to serve your country, it is the most honourable of all; whereas, if it signifies no more than a desire to earn a comfortable billet, and there contentedly to rust, it is the most despicable. I will assume, however—as I think that I reasonably may—that those of you who propose to adopt this career desire to do so with the fullest intention of justifying your selection and of rendering public service. What are the chief perils against which you have to be on your guard? I think

that they are two in number. The first of these is the mechanical performance of duty, the doing a thing faithfully and diligently perhaps, but unintelligently, and therefore stupidly, just as a mechanical drill in a workshop will go on throughout the day, so long as the steam is in the boiler, punching an endless rotation of holes. This is a danger to which the Indian with his excellent memory, his mastery of rules and precedents, and his natural application, is peculiarly liable. He becomes an admirable automaton, a flawless machine. But when something happens that is not provided for by the regulations, or that defies all precedent, he is apt to find himself astray. He has not been taught to practise self-reliance, and therefore he is at a loss, and he turns to others for the guidance which ought to spring from himself. This is a fault against which you ought to struggle unceasingly, for there is no malady that grows so quickly as dependence upon others. Accuracy and fidelity may constitute a good subordinate, but by themselves they will never make a good administrator, and they will never carry you out of the ranks that follow into the ranks that lead.

The second danger that I would ask you to shun is the corollary of the first. You must not only learn to be self-reliant, but you must be thorough. You must do your work for the work's own sake, not for the grade, or the promotion, or the pension, or the pay. No man was ever a success in the world whose heart was not in his undertaking. Earnestness, sincerity, devotion to duty, carry a man quickly to the front, while his comrade of perhaps superior mental accomplishments, but with deficient character, is left stumbling behind. Do not imagine for one moment that there is any desire on the part of the English governors of this country to keep native character and native ability in the background. I assert emphatically, after more than three years' experience of Indian administration, that wherever it is forthcoming it receives unhesitating encouragement and prompt reward. An Indian who not only possesses the requisite attainments, but who has energy, a strong sense of duty, and who runs straight, must come to the front. He is indispensable to us in our administration. For, in addition

to the virtues of his character, he already possesses the inestimable advantages—in which no foreigner can really cope with him—of familiarity with the language, the people, and the clime. If you look round the world and inquire why it is that in so many foreign countries the Englishman, without any of these native advantages, has yet been invited to undertake, and has successfully undertaken, the task of regeneration or reform, you will find that it has been because of the universal belief in his integrity, his sincerity, and his purpose. People know that his heart is in his task, and that, when the pinch comes, he will stick to his post. Therefore I cannot give you, young Indians, better advice—and I give it, I can assure you, without a trace of national vanity—than to say, Go you and do likewise: avoid superficiality, put your soul into your work, be strenuous, and assuredly you will not fail of honour in your own time and country.

The same reflections apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to those among you who intend to embark upon a professional career, whether as engineers or doctors, or in whatever walk of life. The same shortcomings will keep you back. Similar standards are required to urge you on. The world is moving very fast, and the man who thinks he can stand still will presently tumble off into space. In the broad field of professional activity, I hardly know one pursuit in India in which there exists any racial bar. There is nothing in the world to prevent an Indian from rising to the topmost rung of the ladder in the practical callings. Efficiency is the final test, and self-reliance is the golden rule.

Some of you whom I am addressing to-day will pass out of this Hall to the study or the practice of the law. You too have your advantages, for it cannot be doubted that the Indian intellect possesses unusual aptitudes for legal pursuits, and that the extent to which the principles as well as the practice of alien systems of law have been assimilated in this country is one of its most remarkable features. But here, too, there are certain pitfalls yawning in front of you which you must endeavour to escape. I do not say that they are not visible elsewhere, or that they are not to some extent common to every law-court and every bar. That may be a truism, but it is neither a palliation nor an excuse.

The first temptation that you should avoid is that of letting words be your masters instead of being masters of your words. In a law-court the facts are the first thing ; the law is the second ; and the eloquence of the barrister or pleader upon the facts and the law is the third. Do not let your attention to the third subject obscure the importance of the first and second, and most of all the first. Words are required to express the facts, and to elucidate or to apply the law. But when they become the mere vehicle of prolix dissertation, they are both a weakness and a nuisance. The second danger of the law-courts is the familiar forensic foible of over-subtlety, or, as it is commonly called, hair-splitting. We know what people mean when they say, That is a lawyer's argument ; and, although the taunt may often be undeserved, there must be something in it to explain its popular acceptance. Try, therefore, to avoid that refining, and refining, and refining, which concentrates its entire attention upon a point—often only a pin-point—and which forgets that what convinces a judge on the bench or a jury in the box is not the adroitness that juggles with minutiae, but the broad handling of a case in its larger aspects.

I turn to those young men who are going to be teachers of others. I pray them to recognise the gravity and the responsibility of their choice. Rightly viewed, theirs is the foremost of sciences, the noblest of professions, the most intellectual of arts. Some wise man said that he would sooner write the songs of a people than make its laws. He might have added that it is a prouder task to teach a people than to govern them. Moses is honoured by the world beyond David, Plato beyond Pericles, Aristotle beyond Alexander. Not that all teaching is great or all teachers famous. Far from it. Much teaching is drudgery, and many teachers are obscure. But in every case the work is important, and the workman should be serious. The first thing I would have you remember, therefore, is that you are not entering upon an easy or an idle profession. It is the most responsible of all.

When you have realised this guiding principle, the next thing to bear in mind is that the teacher should profit by

his own previous experience as a student. He should not inflict upon his pupils the mistakes or the shortcomings by which his own education has suffered. For instance, if he has been artificially crammed himself, he should not proceed to revenge himself by artificially cramming others. Rather should he spare them a similar calamity. The great fault of education as pursued in this country is, as we all know, that knowledge is cultivated by the memory instead of by the mind, and that aids to the memory are mistaken for implements of the mind. This is all wrong. Books can no more be studied through keys than out-of-door games can be acquired through books. Knowledge is a very different thing from learning by rote, and in the same way education is a very different thing from instruction. Make your pupils, therefore, understand the meaning of books, instead of committing to memory the sentences and lines. Teach them what the Roman Empire did for the world, in preference to the names and dates of the Cæsars. Explain to them the meaning of government and administration and law, instead of making them repeat the names of battles or the populations of towns. Educate them to reason and to understand reasoning, in preference to learning by heart the first three books of Euclid.

Remember, too, that knowledge is not a collection of neatly assorted facts like the specimens in glass cases in a museum. The pupil whose mind you merely stock in this fashion will no more learn what knowledge is than a man can hope to speak a foreign language by poring over a dictionary. What you have to do is not to stuff the mind of your pupil with the mere thoughts of others, excellent as they may be, but to teach him to use his own. One correct generalisation drawn with his own brain is worth a library full of second-hand knowledge. If the object of all teaching is the application to life of sound principles of thought and conduct, it is better for the ordinary man to be able to make one such successful application, than to have the brilliancy of a Macaulay, or the memory of a Mezzofanti.

Next I turn to those among you who are going to enter the honourable profession of journalism. I know something

of journalism, and I am acquainted both with its privileges and its snares. In India I have made the closest study of the Native press, since I have been in the country, partly because it tells me to some extent what the educated minority are thinking and saying, partly because I often learn from it things that I should otherwise never hear of at all. I am not, therefore, an ignorant or a prejudiced witness. On the contrary, I think that native journalism in India is steadily advancing, and that it is gaining in sobriety and wisdom. But I am not here to-day to discuss merits. I have undertaken the more venturesome task of pointing out weaknesses and errors.

The first of these that I would ask you young men to avoid is the insidious tendency to exaggeration. If I were asked to sum up in a single word the most notable characteristic of the East—physical, intellectual, and moral—as compared with the West, the word “exaggeration,” or “extravagance,” is the one that I should employ. It is particularly patent on the surface of the Native press. If it is desired to point out that a public man is a deserving person, it is a common form to say that he deserves a statue of gold. If he has done something that is objected to, he is depicted in almost Mephistophelian colours. This sort of exaggeration is not only foolish in itself, for it weakens the force of writing; but it is often unfair as an interpretation of public sentiment. There is nothing more damaging to national reputation than a marked discrepancy between words and acts. If, for instance, a great Indian dies and is extolled in glowing language by the Native press for his services and his virtues, and a subscription list is then opened to commemorate them—and if the response to this appeal turns out to be utterly inadequate—the reflection is suggested, either that the press has been extravagant in its laudations, or that the national character prefers words to deeds. In either case a bad impression is produced.

Then, again, do not impute the worst motives. Try to assume the best. If a thing has been done that you disapprove of, or that is not clear, do not jump to the conclusion that there is something sinister in the background. Assail the Government if you please—Governments, I suppose, are

put into the world to be criticised—but do not credit them with a more than average share of human frailty ; and, above all, make some allowance for good intentions on their part. From the selfish point of view nothing can be worse in your own interests than to be always carping and railing. If you want to influence public opinion, you should aim at attracting every class of reader, and not merely pander to one. If the impression gets abroad that a newspaper always attacks an individual, or a class, or an institution, or a Government, as the case may be, then the friends of the other party will never open the newspaper at all, and all its invective will be thrown away.

I have a few other words of advice to give you, but they must be brief, as I have not the time to expand. Do not employ words or phrases that you do not understand. Avoid ambitious metaphors. Do not attack in covert allegories, or calumniate in disguise. Remember, when you use the editorial "we," that "we" is, after all, only "I," and that the individual "I" is only one among three hundred millions. Recollect that your opponent or your victim very often cannot answer you ; and that he is often just as good a man, perhaps even a better and wiser than yourself. Never descend to personalities ; avoid that which is scurrilous and vulgar and low. There is always a stratum of society of depraved and prurient tastes. Do not write down to its level, but draw it up to your own. You, perhaps, have been told that the press ought to be no respecter of persons. Yes, but that is a very different thing from respecting nobody. First learn to respect others, and you will find before long that you have learnt to respect yourself. Do not sharpen your pen-point, and think that mere sharpness is wit. Remember the saying of Disraeli in the House of Commons that petulance is not sarcasm, and insolence is not invective. Above all, never forget that the press has a mission : and that that mission is not to inflame the passions, or to cater to the lower instincts of your fellow-men, but to elevate the national character, to educate the national mind, and to purify the national taste.

And now to all of you together let me address these concluding words. The spirit of nationality is moving in

the world, and it is an increasing force in the lives and ideals of men. Founded upon race, and often cemented by language and religion, it makes small nations great, and great nations greater. It teaches men how to live, and, in emergencies, it teaches them how to die. But, for its full realisation, a spirit of unity, and not of disintegration, is required. There must be a sacrifice of the smaller to the larger interest, and a subordination of the unit to the system. In India it should not be a question of India for the Hindus, or India for the Musulmans, or, descending to minor fractions, of Bengal for the Bengalis, or the Deccan for the Mahratta Brahmans. That would be a retrograde and a dissolvent process. Neither can it be India for the Indians alone. The last two centuries during which the British have been in this country cannot be wiped out. They have profoundly affected the whole structure of national thought and existence. They have quickened the atrophied veins of the East with the life-blood of the West. They have modified old ideals and have created new ones.

And not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light ;
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward, look, the land is bright !

Out of this intermingling of the East and the West, a new patriotism, and a more refined and cosmopolitan sense of nationality are emerging. It is one in which the Englishman may share with the Indian, for he has helped to create it, and in which the Indian may share with the Englishman, since it is their common glory. When an Englishman says that he is proud of India, it is not of battlefields and sieges, nor of exploits in the Council Chamber or at the desk that he is principally thinking. He sees the rising standards of intelligence, of moral conduct, of comfort and prosperity, among the native peoples, and he rejoices in their advancement. Similarly, when an Indian says that he is proud of India, it would be absurd for him to banish from his mind all that has been, and is being, done for the resuscitation of his country by the alien race to whom have been committed its destinies. Both are tillers in the same field, and both are concerned in the harvest. From their joint labours it

is that this new and composite patriotism is springing into life. It is Asian, for its roots are embedded in the traditions and the aspirations of an Eastern people; and it is European, because it is aglow with the illumination of the West. In it are summed up all the best hopes for the future of this country, both for your race and for mine. We are ordained to walk here in the same track together for many a long day to come. You cannot do without us. We should be impotent without you. Let the Englishman and the Indian accept the consecration of a union that is so mysterious as to have in it something of the divine, and let our common ideal be a united country and a happier people.

CONVOCATION OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

February 11, 1905

I do not propose to address you to-day upon purely educational topics. I have often inflicted them upon previous Convocations. I would like to turn aside for half an hour from those dusty fields, and to talk to you about something which is even more personal to the undergraduate body, namely, yourselves and the work that lies before you. The majority of you are about to do what I remember so well doing myself, though it is now rather a long time ago, namely, to gather up the advantages of such education as you have received, and with this bundle on your back to start forth on the big road which we call life. What will it mean to you, and what are its lessons?

I do not pretend to know what lies in the mind of young India, or even of that small section of it which I am now addressing. Difference of race carries with it difference of ideas. The currents of the East and West may flow between the same banks, as I believe it is their destiny to do for long generations to come. But they never absolutely commingle; and I dare say when I try to put myself in your place and to see what is in your minds I altogether fail to succeed. I am confident sometimes that it is so when I have observed the obscure meanings attached by Indian

commentators to what has seemed to me to be simple and true. Conversely, I am quite sure that the Englishman often fails to understand what the Asiatic mind has been pondering over, and is led perhaps by exaggeration of language into thinking that there was corresponding extravagance of thought, whereas there may have been none at all. These are the dangers common to all of us who walk to and fro on the misty arch that spans the gulf between East and West. But there are certain ideals which are the common property of all humanity irrespective of country or race. These are of universal application, and among this class there are some that are peculiarly applicable to the Indian situation and the Indian character. In the contemplation of these we are on common ground, and it is to them that I wish to call your attention this afternoon.

I place in the front rank of these principles truthfulness. The truth is not merely the opposite of a lie. A dumb man would find it difficult to tell a lie, but he might be guilty of untruth every day of his life. There are scores of people who pride themselves on never telling a falsehood, but who are yet habitually false—false to others, and, what is worse, false to themselves. Untruthfulness consists in saying or doing anything that gives an erroneous impression either of one's own character, or of other people's conduct, or of the facts and incidents of life. We all succumb to this. It is the most subtle of temptations. Men who make speeches, men who plead cases, men who write articles in the newspapers, men who are engaged in business, even the ordinary talker at a dinner-table, each of us for the sake of some petty advantage or momentary triumph is tempted to transgress. The degree of non-truth is so slight that it does not seem to amount to untruth. We salve our conscience by thinking that it was a pardonable exaggeration. But the habit grows. Deviation from truth slides by imperceptible degrees into falsehood ; and the man who begins by crediting himself with a fertile imagination merges by imperceptible degrees into a finished liar. But an even commoner form of untruth is the unspoken untruth—the doing something which conscience condemns as not quite straight, but for which the reason is always finding something as an excuse. Those

who encourage this tendency end by becoming two human beings in the same form, like the Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of Stevenson's story. Perhaps the guilty man prides himself on being complex. He is really corrupt; and one day he wakes up to find that he can no longer resume the good habit, but must remain the base or distorted deformity for ever.

I hope I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a Western conception. I do not thereby mean to claim that Europeans are universally or even generally truthful, still less do I mean that Asiatics deliberately or habitually deviate from the truth. The one proposition would be absurd, and the other insulting. But undoubtedly truth took a high place in the moral codes of the West before it had been similarly honoured in the East, where craftiness and diplomatic wile have always been held in much repute. We may prove it by the common innuendo that lurks in the words "Oriental diplomacy," by which is meant something rather tortuous and hypersubtle. The same may be seen in Oriental literature. In your epics truth will often be extolled as a virtue; but quite as often it is attended with some qualification, and very often praise is given to successful deception practised with honest aim.¹ I remember reading in an Indian newspaper² the following paragraph:—"There is not a question but that lying is looked upon with much more disfavour by European than by Native society. The English opinions on this subject are strong, distinct, and uncompromising in the abstract. Hindu and Mohammedan opinions are fluctuating, vague, and to a great extent dependent upon times, places, and persons."

Now the commonest forms which are taken by untruth in this country seem to me to be the following:—The first is exaggeration, particularly in language, the tendency to speak

¹ The allusion was to many well-known passages in the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and other works. In one place the *Mahabharata* says: "There is nothing higher than to speak the truth. Yet it is better to speak what is beneficial than to speak the truth." In another place the permissible kinds of falsehood are stated to be five in number—"on an occasion of marriage, or of love, or when life is in danger, or when one's entire property is about to be taken away, or for the sake of a Brahman."

² The *Indian Mirror*, a Bengali daily, published in Calcutta.

or write things which the speaker or writer does not believe, or which are more than he believes, for the sake of colouring the picture or producing an effect. It is quite a common thing to see the most extravagant account of ordinary occurrences, or the most fanciful motives attributed to persons. Invention and imputation flourish in an unusual degree. There is a thing which we call in English a "mare's-nest," by which we mean a pure figment of the imagination, something so preposterous as to be unthinkable. Yet I know no country where mare's-nests are more prolific than here. Some ridiculous concoction is publicly believed until it is officially denied. Very often a whole fabric of hypothesis is built out of nothing at all. Worthy people are extolled as heroes. Political opponents are branded as malefactors. Immoderate adjectives are flung about as though they had no significance. The writer no doubt did not mean to lie. But the habit of exaggeration has laid such firm hold of him that he is like a man who has taken too much drink, and who sees two things where there is only one, or something where there is nothing. As he writes in hyperbole, so he tends to think in hyperbole, and he ends by becoming blind to the truth.

There are two particularly insidious manifestations of this tendency against which you ought to be on your guard. The first is flattery, and the second is vituperation. Flattery is much more than compliment in an extravagant form. It is often a deliberate attempt to deceive, to get something out of some one else by playing upon the commonest foible of human nature. We all like to be praised, and the majority like to be flattered. A commonplace man enjoys being told that he is a great man, a fluent speaker that he is an orator, a petty agitator that he is a leader of men. The vice is actually encouraged by that which is one of the most attractive traits of Indian character, namely, its warmth of heart. A man has a natural inclination to please, so he glides into flattery; and flattery is only a few steps removed from sycophancy, which is a dangerous form of untruth. Flattery may be either honest or dishonest. Whichever it be, you should avoid it. If it is the former, it is nevertheless false; if it is the latter, it is vile.

But I think that in India the danger of the opposite extreme is greater still. I speak of slander and vilification of those with whom you do not happen to agree. I do not wish to be tempted this afternoon into anything that might be thought to have a political bearing; for it would not be proper to this Convocation. I will only say, therefore, that to many true friends of India, among whom I count myself, the most distressing symptom of the day is the degree to which abuse is entering into public controversy in this country. It is a bad thing for any State if difference of opinion cannot exist without innuendo and persecution, and if the vocabulary of the nation is trained to invective. Authority will never be won by those who daily preach that authority exists only to be reviled. National happiness cannot spring from a root of bitterness, and national existence cannot grow in an atmosphere of strife. I would like to urge all you young men, when you go forth into the world, to avoid this most dangerous of all temptations. Respect your opponents and do not calumniate them. Believe in the good intentions of others rather than the bad, and remember that self-government, to which you aspire, means not only the privilege of assisting to govern the community to which you belong, but the preliminary capacity of governing yourselves.

Therefore I come back to my original point. Do not exaggerate; do not flatter; do not slander; do not impute; but turn naturally to truth as the magnet flies to the pole. It is better to be believed by one human being for respect of the truth than to be applauded for successful falsehood by a thousand. By truth you will mount upwards as individuals and as a nation. In proportion as you depart from it you will stagnate or recede.

Then my second word of advice is this. Try to form an independent judgment. The curse of our day is the dependence on others for thought and decision of every description, and the multiplication of machines for relieving a man of the necessity of independent opinion. The lowest and commonest of these machines is what schoolboys call a key, that is, a book in which they are saved the trouble of thinking for themselves by finding the work done for them by somebody

else. The highest form is the article in the daily newspaper or the magazine which relieves you from thinking about the politics or events of the day by supplying you with the thoughts of another.

Advance in civilisation multiplies these instruments of selfish convenience. For an anna or less a man can purchase his opinions just as he purchases his food or his clothing. Of course books and the press do much more. They spread knowledge and stimulate intelligence, and without them we should sink back into brute beasts. I am only speaking of their questionable side. For the paradox is also a truth, that while they encourage intellectual activity they are also sometimes an indirect incentive to intellectual torpor. Of course this is truer of newspapers, which represent an ephemeral form of literature, than it is of books, which are often immortal. We all of us get into the habit of reading our favourite journal, and cherish the belief that we are thinking while we are really only browsing on the thoughts of others. Sometimes our anonymous mentor is a very wise man, and we do not go far astray; sometimes he is the reverse, and we err in his company.

But the great danger of second-hand thought is not merely that it is not original, but that its tendency is to be one-sided, and therefore unfair. The common instinct of mankind is to take a side. It is the survival of the old era of combat, when each man had to fight for himself and his family or clan. From youth upwards we find ourselves taking a side in the rivalries of school and college life, and in many ways these rivalries develop the keener instincts and the finer side of human nature. But the mind ought only to take a side as the result of a mental process. If we have examined the two sides of a case, and are convinced that the one is right and the other wrong, or that one is more right than the other, by all means adopt and adhere to it; but to make your decision and to shape your conduct simply because a writer in a book or a newspaper has said it, whether it be right or wrong, is not thought, but very often an abnegation of thought. It is putting the authority of the mind in commission and setting up some other authority, of which you perhaps know nothing, in the judgment-seat. So I say

to you young men that the first duty of a student, that is a man who has studied, is mental independence. Strike out a line of thought for yourselves. Form your own judgment. Do not merely listen to the tinkling of the old bell-wether who leads the flock, but stand on your own feet, walk on your own legs, look with your own eyes.

This does not mean, of course, that you can afford to be self-opinionated, or conceited, or obstinate. Nothing is more offensive than arrogance or license in youth. You remember the famous sarcasm of the Cambridge tutor at the expense of a youthful colleague: "We are none of us infallible, not even the youngest." But the excess of a virtue merges easily into a vice, and nowhere more easily than in the case of freedom. Freedom involves not the absence of all restraint, but liberty within the limits of a reasonable self-restraint. Otherwise, as history teaches us, freedom usually degenerates into license, license into disorder, and disorder into chaos. Goethe, the German poet-philosopher, used to say that only in law can the spirit of man be free. So it is; and just as law is the condition of independence of spirit, so are moderation and respect for others the condition of independence of judgment. This combination of qualities should come naturally to the philosophic Hindu. He should cultivate independence of mind, and thought, and action. But his great introspective power should save him from degenerating into intellectual self-sufficiency or insolence.

There is another tyranny which I think that you ought to avoid, and that is the absurd and puerile tyranny of words. It is not the most fluent nations in the world who have done the most in history. Every nation and every time have their orators and they are the secular teachers and apostles of their day. But when everybody talks, then as a rule few act, and when the talkers talk too much and too often, then finally nobody pays any heed, and the impression gets abroad that they are incapable of action. When I read the proceedings of the conferences and meetings that are always going on in all parts of India, I am far from deprecating the intellectual ferment to which this bears witness, and I am not sure that it is not a direct imitation of English

practice. But I sometimes think that if fewer resolutions were passed and a little more resolution was shown—resolution to grapple with the facts of life, to toil and labour for your country instead of merely shouting for it—the progress of India would be more rapid. Eloquence on the platform is very like soda-water in a bottle. After the cork has been removed for a little time all the sparkle has gone. Moreover, eloquence no more regenerates nations than soda-water gives fibre and strength to the constitution.

Now in India there are two sets of people, the reticent and the eloquent. I daresay you know to which class the people in this part of the country belong. I am sometimes lost in admiration at the facility with which they speak in a foreign language, and I envy the accomplishment. All I say to you is, do not presume upon this talent. Do not believe that the man who can make a speech is necessarily a statesman; do not let your fluency run away with your powers of thought. Above all, do not think that speech is ever a substitute for action. The man who in his village or his town devotes himself to the interests of his fellow-countrymen, and by example and by effort improves their lot, is a greater benefactor than the hero of a hundred platforms.

There is a further piece of advice that I should like to give you. Strive to the best of your ability to create a healthy public opinion in your surroundings. Public opinion in India cannot for a long time be the opinion of the public, that is of the masses, because they are uneducated and have no opinion in political matters at all. In these circumstances public opinion tends to be the opinion of the educated minority. But if it is to have weight it must be co-ordinated with the necessities and interests and desires of the community, who are perhaps hardly capable of formulating an opinion of their own. Nothing can be more unfortunate than a divorce or gulf between the two. If what is called public opinion is merely the opinion of a class, however genuine, it can never have the weight of the opinion of the masses, because, like all class feelings, it is necessarily interested. Of course in India it is very difficult to create or to give utterance to a public opinion that is

really representative, because there are so many different classes whose interests do not always coincide ; for instance, the English and the Indians, the Hindus and the Mohammedans, the officials and the non-officials, the agriculturists and the industrialists. But I think that the great work that lies before educated India in the near future is the creation of a public opinion that shall be as far as possible representative of all the interests that lie outside of Government. If we take the Native element alone, it would be an immense advantage to Government to have a public opinion that was representative of Native sentiment generally, not of one section or fraction of it. For public opinion is both a stimulus to Government and a check. It encourages energy and it prevents mistakes. But if it is to have this vivifying and steady influence, then it must be public and not sectional, temperate and not violent, suggestive and not merely hostile. Surely this must be patent to all. We have all of us frequently seen a manufactured public opinion in India, which was barren and ineffective because it merely represented the partisan views of a clique, and was little more than noise and foam. In my view, the real work that lies before Indian patriots is the suppression of the sectional and the elevation of the national in the life of the people. And I think that any educated young man can contribute to that end by the exercise of personal influence and balance of judgment. It is always a bad symptom when there is one public opinion that is vocal and noisy, and another that is subdued and silent. For the former assumes a prerogative that it does not deserve, while the latter does not exert the influence to which it is entitled. The true criteria of a public opinion that is to have weight are that it should be representative of many interests, that it should see two or more sides instead of only one, and that it should treat Government as a power to be influenced, not as an enemy to be abused. Some day I hope that this will come ; and there is not one amongst you who cannot contribute to that consummation.

The last question that I put to myself and to you is this —What scope is there for you in the life of your country ? In my opinion there is much. When I hear it said that

India is a conquered nation and that Indians are condemned to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, I smile at the extravagance, but I am also pained at the imputation. When I see High Court Judges—some of them in this hall—Ministers of Native States wielding immense powers, high executive and judicial officers in our own service, leaders of thought and ornaments of the Bar, professors and men of science, poets and novelists, the nobility of birth and the nobility of learning, I do not say that every Indian corporal carries a Field Marshal's *baton* in his knapsack, for the prizes come to few, but I say that none need complain that the doors are shut. To all of you who have the ambition to rise I would say—Use your student days to study the history and circumstances of your race. Study its literature and the literature of Europe, and particularly of the country whose fate is bound up with your own. Compare the two; see what are their lessons or their warnings. Then equip yourselves with a genuine and manly love for your own people. I do not mean the perfervid nationalism of the platform, but the self-sacrificing ardour of the true patriot. Make a careful diagnosis, not only of how you can get on yourselves, but how you can help your countrymen to prosper. Avoid the tyranny of faction and the poison of racial bitterness. Do not arm yourselves against phantasms, but fight against the real enemies to the welfare of your people, which are backwardness, and ignorance, and antiquated social prescriptions. Look for your ideals not in the air of heaven but in the lives and duties of men. Learn that the true salvation of India will not come from without, but must be created within. It will not be given you by enactments of the British Parliament or of any Parliament at all. It will not be won by political controversy, and most certainly it will not be won by rhetoric. It will be achieved by the increase of the moral and social advance of your people themselves, deserving that which they claim, and by their deserts making stronger the case for more. To you all therefore I say, Look up, not down. Look forward, not backward. Look to your own country first and foremost, and do not waste time in whistling for the moon. Be true

Indians—that is the prompting of nationality. But while doing so strive also to be true citizens of the Empire; for circumstances have thrown you into a larger mould than that of race, and have swept you into the tides that direct the world. As nationality is larger than race, so is Empire larger than nationality. Race weakens and gets overlaid in the passage of time and gives place to broader conceptions. For instance, in India I see the claim constantly made that a man is not merely a Bengali, or an Uriya, or a Mahratta, or a Sikh, but a member of the Indian nation. I do not think it can yet be said that there is any Indian nation, though in the distant future some approach to it may be evolved. However that may be, the Indian is most certainly a citizen of the British Empire. To that larger unit he already belongs. How to adjust race to nationality, and how to reconcile nationality with Empire,—that is the work which will occupy the British rulers of this country for many a long year to come. I am one of those who believe that it can be accomplished without detriment to race or nationality, and with safety to the Empire. I want the Indian people to play their part in this great achievement and to share the results.

PERSIAN GULF

DURBAR AT SHARGAH

IN November 1903 Lord Curzon paid an official visit to the Persian Gulf, escorted by the vessels of the East India Squadron, under the command of Rear-Admiral G. Atkinson-Willes. It was the first occasion on which any Viceroy of India, during his term of office, had visited these outlying scenes of British influence and trade. After halting for a day at Muscat, the Gulf was entered, and on November 21 a Durbar was held on the *Argonaut* at Shargah, for the Chiefs of the Arab Coast who are in Treaty relations with the British Government. The Chiefs having been formally presented, the Viceroy addressed them as follows:—

I have come here as the representative in the great Empire of India of the British authority which you and your fathers and forefathers have known and dealt with for more than a hundred years; and my object is to show you, that though you live at some distance from the shores of India, you are not forgotten by the Government, but that they adhere to the policy of guardianship and protection which has given you peace and guaranteed your rights for the best part of a century; and that the first Viceroy of India who has ever visited these waters does not quit them without seeking the opportunity of meeting you in person, and of renewing the assurances and engagements by which we have been so long united.

Chiefs, your fathers and grandfathers before you have doubtless told you of the history of the past.¹ You know that a hundred years ago there were constant trouble and fighting in the Gulf; almost every man was a marauder or

¹ For a detailed account of this history, as also for Muscat, reference may be made to the chapter on the Persian Gulf, in vol. ii. of Lord Curzon's *Persia*, published in 1892.

a pirate ; kidnapping and slave-trading flourished ; fighting and bloodshed went on without stint or respite ; no ship could put out to sea without fear of attack ; the pearl fishery was a scene of annual conflict ; and security of trade or peace there was none. Then it was that the British Government intervened and said that, in the interests of its own subjects and traders, and of its legitimate influence in the seas that wash the Indian coasts, this state of affairs must not continue. British flotillas appeared in these waters. British forces occupied the forts and towns on the coast that we see from this deck. The struggle was severe while it lasted, but it was not long sustained. In 1820 the first general Treaty was signed between the British Government and the Chiefs ; and of these or similar agreements there have been in all no fewer than eight. In 1839 the Maritime Truce was concluded, and was renewed from time to time until the year 1853, when it was succeeded by the Treaty of Perpetual Peace that has lasted ever since. Under that Treaty it was provided that there should be a complete cessation of hostilities at sea between the subjects of the signatory Chiefs, and a "perfect maritime truce"—to use the words that were employed—"for evermore" ; that in the event of aggressions on any one by sea, the injured parties should not retaliate, but should refer the matter to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf ; and that the British Government should watch over the peace of the Gulf and ensure at all times the observance of the Treaty. Chiefs, that Treaty has not, of course, prevented occasional trouble and conflict ; it has sometimes been neglected or infringed ; but on the whole it has well deserved its name ; and under it has grown up a condition of affairs so peaceful and secure that the oldest among you can only remember as a dim story the events of the past, while the younger have never seen warfare or bloodshed on the seas. It is now eleven years since the last disturbance of the peace occurred.

Chiefs, out of the relations that were thus created, and which by your own consent constituted the British Government the guardian of inter-tribal peace, there grew up political ties between the Government of India and yourselves, whereby the British Government became your overlords

and protectors, and you have relations with no other Power. Every one of the States known as the Trucial States has bound itself, as you know, not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any other Power, not to admit the agent of any other Government, and not to part with any portion of its territories. These engagements are binding on every one of you, and you have faithfully adhered to them. They are also binding in their reciprocal effect upon the British Government, and as long as they are faithfully observed by the Chiefs there is no fear that any one else will be allowed to tamper with your rights or liberties.¹

Sometimes I think that the record of the past is in danger of being forgotten, and there are persons who ask—Why should Great Britain continue to exercise these powers? The history of your States and of your families, and the present condition of the Gulf, are the answer. We were here before any other Power, in modern times, had shown its face in these waters. We found strife and we have created order. It was our commerce as well as your security that was threatened and called for protection. At every port along these coasts the subjects of the King of England still reside and trade. The great Empire of India, which it is our duty to defend, lies almost at your gates. We saved you from extinction at the hands of your neighbours. We opened these seas to the ships of all nations, and enabled their flags to fly in peace. We have not seized or held your territory. We have not destroyed your independence, but have preserved it. We are not now going to throw away this century of costly and triumphant enterprise; we shall not wipe out the most unselfish page in history. The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your independence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme.

There is one respect in which the Chiefs themselves can avert any renewal of trouble in the future. The British Government have no desire to interfere, and have never interfered, in your internal affairs, provided that the Chiefs govern their territories with justice, and respect the rights

¹ The Treaties and Agreements are printed in Aitchison's and Hertslet's Collections of Treaties.

of the foreign traders residing therein. If any internal disputes occur, you will always find a friend in the British Resident, who will use his influence, as he has frequently done in the past, to prevent these dissensions from coming to a head, and to maintain the *status quo*; for we could not approve of one independent Chief attacking another Chief by land, simply because he was not permitted to do it by sea, and thus evading the spirit of his Treaty obligations. I will mention a case that seems to lend itself to friendly settlement of the character that I have described. You are all of you aware that the strip of coast known as the Batineh Coast, on the opposite side of the Oman peninsula, is under the authority of the Chief of the Jowasmis. Nevertheless his authority is contested in some quarters. It is desirable that these disputes should cease, and that the peace should remain undisturbed.

Chiefs, these are the relations that subsist between the British Government and yourselves. The Sovereign of the British Empire lives so far away that none of you has ever seen or will ever see his face; but his orders are carried out everywhere throughout his vast dominions by the officers of his Government, and it is as his representative in India, who is responsible to him for your welfare, that I am here to-day to exchange greetings with you, to renew old assurances, and to wish you prosperity in the future.

ADDRESS FROM BRITISH RESIDENTS AT BUSHIRE

On December 2, the Squadron, after visiting Bunder Abbas, Lingah, Bahrein, and Koweit, arrived at Bushire. An unfortunate hitch in the arrangements made by the Persian Government prevented the Viceroy from landing, but he received a large deputation from the British residents on board the *Hardinge*, and in reply to an Address of welcome from them spoke as follows:—

I am very glad to see you here, and to receive your friendly Address. I am sorry to have been prevented from receiving you on shore, when I might have been introduced to an even larger number of British residents and merchants at this important place.

A Viceroy of India coming to Bushire in the year 1903, though he be the first occupant of that position to visit these waters during his term of Office, is irresistibly reminded of his precursors a century gone by. He is, indeed, the logical as well as the historical successor of Sir John Malcolm, who came here more than once just a hundred years ago; and he is the latest link in an unbroken sequence of political officers who have been deputed from India to represent British and Indian political interests, and to protect their corresponding commercial interests, in this neighbourhood since the appointment of the first political agent as far back as 1812. Even then British interests had been represented here for as much as half a century; since it was in 1763 that the East India Company first opened a factory at Bushire. At that time one vessel a year from India was sufficient to accommodate the whole of British trade. In 1902, 136 steamers entered this port, and of these 133 were British. In the last twenty years the imports have increased from 135 lakhs, of which 117½ were from Great Britain and India, to 201½ lakhs in 1901, of which 152½ lakhs were British and Indian. In the same period the imports of tea from India have risen from a value of Rs.65,000 to a value of close upon 10 lakhs. These figures do not leave much doubt as to where the preponderance of trade lies.

This history of 140 years is without a parallel in the connection of any other foreign nation with these coasts; under it have grown up connections with the local Governments and peoples of close friendships and confidence; it is a chapter of history upon which we have every right to look back with pride; and it imposes upon us obligations which it is impossible that we should overlook, and which no Government, either of Great Britain or India, is likely to ignore.

Bushire is the headquarters of this long-standing connection. From here the British Resident exerts that mild control over the waters of the Gulf, and over the tribes upon its opposite shore, the results of which I have enjoyed so many opportunities of observing during my present cruise. From this place the principal caravan

route strikes into the interior of Persia, tapping its chief cities in succession, and ultimately reaching the capital; here the wires of the Indo-European telegraph, which in their earlier stages have brought Persia into connection with Europe, which have done so much to strengthen the authority of the Shah in his own dominions, and which carry the vast majority of the messages from India to England, dip into the sea; here is the residence of the Persian official who is charged with the Governorship of the Persian Gulf ports by his Government, and with whom our relations are invariably those of the friendliest nature; and under these combined auspices—the British bringing the bulk of the trade and policing the maritime highway, and the Persians gradually consolidating an authority which, though once precarious, is now assured—this place has grown from a small fishing village into a flourishing town of 20,000 inhabitants; it has become the residence of foreign Consuls and Consular officers; the leading mercantile communities who trade in Southern Persia and Turkey have their offices and representatives here; there is seldom a day in which steamers are not lying off the port; and Bushire has acquired a name which it is safe to say is known in every part of the world.

This development is the more remarkable because, as you have pointed out, no one could contend that trade is conducted here under favourable conditions; on the contrary there are few, if any, of the conditions that naturally mark out a place as an emporium or channel of commerce. Bushire can hardly be said, even by the wildest stretch of imagination, to possess a harbour. Landing is difficult and often impracticable. The trade-route that penetrates into the interior is one of the most difficult in Asia; and inland you do not find a people enjoying great wealth or a high standard of comfort or civilisation, but instead you encounter tribes leading a nomadic form of existence; and even when you come to the settled parts of the country and the larger cities, the purchasing power of the people does not appear to be great. The fact that a large and flourishing trade has grown up in spite of these drawbacks is an irrefutable proof

of the dependence of Persia upon outside supply for many of the necessities and most of the luxuries of life. Since I first visited Bushire fourteen years ago¹ I have always indulged the hope that, as time passed on, progress would be made in all these directions, and I agree with you in thinking that the Persian Government could embark upon no more remunerative form of expenditure than the improvement both of the maritime and the inland approaches to this place.

During the time in which I have filled my present office in India I have done my best to facilitate the progress of trade, and to ensure the adequate protection of British interests in the Gulf and in the adjoining provinces and territories. His Majesty's Government at home have also been warmly interested in the matter. The result of these efforts has been that we have gradually developed the Nushki-Seistan trade-route, which is now a recognised channel of commerce to Eastern Persia. We have appointed a Consul in Seistan, and are about to extend the telegraph thither.² We now have Indian officers residing as Consul at Kerman, and as Vice-Consul at Bunder Abbas, where we are about to build a consular residence; we have connected Muscat by cable with Jask, and we hope for further telegraphic extensions in the interests of trade.³ We have established a political agent at Bahrein: and we now have a Consul at Mohammera and a Vice-Consul at Ahwaz. The Karun trade-route has made substantial progress, and has been supplemented by the newly opened road, with caravanserais and bridges, through the Bakhtiari country to Ispahan. A British Consul has also been appointed to Shiraz. We have improved and accelerated the mail service to all the Gulf ports. British India steamers now call at Koweit as well. During the same period British medical officers have been lent by

¹ *Vide* Cap. XXII. of vol. ii. of Lord Curzon's *Persia*.

² This has been done from the sides both of British Baluchistan and Persian Baluchistan.

³ The allusion was to a proposed extension of the cable (*a*) from Muscat to the island of Henjam, where the British possess an old telegraph station, abandoned over ten years ago, and (*b*) from Henjam to Bunder Abbas. Both extensions have since been carried out.

us to the Persian Government to conduct the quarantine arrangements in the Gulf. Simultaneously, British interests have found a most vigilant spokesman at Teheran in His Majesty's Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge, who has been good enough to accompany me throughout my present journey, and with whom I have enjoyed many opportunities of discussing the common interests of the Home and Indian Government in Persia. I hope that our discussions may be fraught with advantage to the interests that we jointly represent.

Altogether I think it may be said that in Bushire you receive an amount of attention that is not always extended in similar measure to places so remote from headquarters, while the fact that a British Resident lives in your midst and is able personally to look after your concerns, which I am glad to learn from your address that he does entirely to your satisfaction, is a further guarantee for their protection. I hope that the position which British interests thus enjoy, and which is neither artificial in origin nor recent in growth, since it is the result of nearly a century and a half of patient and laborious effort both by Government and by private enterprise, may long be maintained, and that Bushire may continue in the future, as it has done in the past, to be the centre from which this benign and peaceful influence radiates throughout Southern Persia and the Persian Gulf.

PLAUE

MEETING OF VOLUNTARY PLAGUE WORKERS, POONA

ON November 11, 1899, the Viceroy attended a meeting of voluntary plague workers, numbering about 500 or 600, which was held in the Council Hall at Poona, and thus addressed the gathering:—

It is a source of great pleasure to me, in this beautiful hall, which I now see for the first time, to have received the words of sympathy and appreciative welcome that have just fallen from the lips of Mr. Padamjee, who, I understand, has been for many years one of your most leading and representative citizens. In one respect I cordially endorse what he has said. I am glad to be able to congratulate you, on this the occasion of my first visit to Poona, upon better times. There can be no doubt that you have suffered cruelly and long. Poona, during the past year, has, I am afraid, been like a city lying in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. The city has been largely deserted by its population, and fear and apprehension have naturally enough entered into the hearts of the people. Pestilence has not spared the home of the European any more than it has that of the Native, and in striking it in cases which are known to us all it has taken away the dearly beloved, the fair, and the young. There was another very pathetic case which I came across in my tour of inspection this morning, when I learned of the death of a worthy Mohammedan citizen of this place, Jaffir Yusuf, who contracted the plague in the very hospital which, largely by his own munificence and activity, had been called into being. At the same time, the extent to which the

native population have suffered is shown by the fact that they have lost, I believe, a total of more than 10,000 of their inhabitants in this city. In these circumstances great credit is, I think, due to that brave band who never lost heart in the deepest hour of adversity, but who, with unwavering courage, and with the purest self-sacrifice, have continued to wage the battle against the foul fiend that was encamped in your midst. It is to meet this gallant band of fighters, and to congratulate them, now that their victory may be said to have been well-nigh won, that I have come here this afternoon ; and warm, I can assure you, are the feelings of respect with which, on behalf of the Government of India, I recognise their devotion ; and warm also the thanks which I tender to them for the work that they have done. As the Chairman of the Municipal Commissioners himself indicated in his remarks, you have had an untiring and chivalrous commander in your Governor,¹ and a double compliment can perhaps not be better paid than by saying that the soldiers have not been unworthy of their captain.

It is quite certain that, but for voluntary effort—and I understand from what you, sir, tell me, that the majority of those whom I am addressing are volunteer workers—the state of Poona would have been much worse than it has been. Of course the Government here, as elsewhere, has its own organisation, and the officers of that organisation, both civil and military, have distinguished themselves by their ubiquitous and unsparing zeal. But there are strains which no official mechanism in the world, however perfect, is adequate to meet, without the supplement of some extraneous help. Such a crisis does occur when you have a great epidemic breaking out in a populous city. Then you require not merely the trained energy of the official, but also the quiet and more subtle influence and co-operation of popular residents in the place, who will go to and fro, and in and out, among the people, and who are none the worse off if their local knowledge is also tinctured with a little of the enthusiasm of the amateur. You have had all these advantages in this place, and you have had, further, the assistance of a body of nurses as unselfish and devoted as in any country, or in any period

of the world's history, have ever given themselves to the alleviation of the sorrows of their fellow-creatures.

What the future of plague may be none of us can say : we can but struggle on and do our best. Whether a cure for the pestilence is ever likely to be discovered it would be rash for any one of us, and particularly for one like myself, who is a layman, to predict. At present, by taking each case as soon as you can, by removing the patient from an infected house or quarter into the nearest hospital, and by surrounding him there with the conditions under which he is certain of pure air, and sound treatment, and of stimulating sustenance, you endeavour, and I believe that in a constantly increasing percentage of cases you manage, to pull him through.

But there are many prophylactics against the plague, which can, and which in my opinion ought as widely as possible, to be employed. I say frankly on this occasion—and I do not care how widely my words may be spread—that in my judgment inoculation is by far the wisest system of prophylactics that you can adopt. I do not say so because I have the medical or the chemical knowledge which would enable me to pronounce with authority upon the constituent proportions, or upon the scientific results, of the serum. But I say so because, as a thinking human being, with the power of using my eyes and my ears, I cannot fail to be conscious of its demonstrable effects. If I find, as I do, that out of a hundred plague seizures among uninoculated persons, the average of those who die is something about 70 to 80 per cent, and if I find that in a corresponding number of seizures among inoculated persons the proportions are entirely reversed, and that it is 70 to 80 per cent, if not more, who are saved—and these are calculations which have been furnished to me from more than one responsible quarter—then I say that figures of that kind cannot but carry conviction to my mind : and I altogether fail to see how, in the face of them, it is possible for any one to argue that inoculation is not a wise and necessary precaution. It is all very well to say that it is not infallible. No one, so far as I know, claims that it is. Its effects are apt to be obliterated in the passage of time. It acts

differently in different cases. There are some physical constitutions to which it is apparently entirely unsuited. Unless the serum is most carefully administered, as well as scrupulously prepared, there is some danger arising from contamination. These are the risks, but I think the small risks, attendant upon the introduction of a system for which no one that I know of claims absolute faultlessness. But that inoculation has saved thousands and thousands of lives that would otherwise have been lost, that it gives to the patient a more than reasonable chance of recovery, that in spite of its theoretical conflict with the conservatism of Indian feeling, and with the traditions of Native medicine, the majority of the most distinguished Native medical practitioners in this country are already in its favour, and that more and more converts are being made from the remainder each day, these are propositions which I believe to be impossible to dispute.

If you have any doubt about it, take the case which was mentioned just now ; take the cantonment which lies within the sight and knowledge of most of you in this room, and ask General Burnett, whose unfaltering devotion you know so well, what inoculation has done for him in the Poona cantonment.

I do not say that you ought to force inoculation upon the people. I am entirely of the opposite opinion. It is difficult to force something upon a community which we ourselves who give it may be entirely convinced is for their good, but which, either from prejudice or from ignorance, they are equally convinced is for their harm. You can do it in the case of children because they are irresponsible. But it is not easy to do it in the case of a community of grown-up men ; and still less easy is it in the case of an Asiatic country, where, as we all know, the feelings of conservatism are very strong, and where among the great mass of the population a knowledge of what we in European countries call medical science cannot be said to exist. But for the sake of those who know no better, in the interests not of science but of humanity—for that is the cause which I am pleading—and for the future welfare of thousands of human lives, let no effort be spared to spread the facts, to inculcate

reason, and to win by persuasion that which you cannot extort by force.

But you may say to me (if I may turn an English proverb into terms that will be familiar to yourselves) that a seer of example is worth a maund of precept. I quite agree with that philosophy, and I may inform you that I have carried it out in my own person. Knowing that I was likely to spend many agreeable hours in visiting plague hospitals in this part of India, I practised my own precept, and I and my whole party were inoculated before we left Simla. I have had no cause to regret it; and I cordially commend the example to others who may be placed in a similar position.

It now only remains for me to bid you farewell. My visits to Bombay and Poona have, I think, enabled me to realise better than the study of newspapers or the reading of official reports how genuine have been the sufferings of the people, and how heroic the efforts that have been made to alleviate them. I have also seen that, here at Poona, as elsewhere in the world, the dark cloud has its silver lining, and that the co-operation against human suffering and disease in which you have all been engaged has done a great deal to draw tighter the cords of harmony and fellow-feeling that should unite, and which I believe at the present juncture more than at any previous time do unite, all sections in this city. I shall go back to my work at headquarters encouraged and fortified by what I have seen, and I hope that the knowledge, little though it may be, that I have secured, will enable me the better to cope with any future emergency, should such arise. I will only add that, in such a case, I earnestly hope that the city of Poona may not again be one of the victims.

PLANTERS

DINNER GIVEN BY PLANTERS AT SILCHAR (ASSAM)

ON November 8, 1901, the Viceroy was entertained at dinner at Silchar in Assam, by the planters of Cachar, and responded as follows to the toast of his health :—

The hospitality of the planter, of which I am the recipient this evening, is one of those time-honoured Indian traditions which are as unbroken as the rising and setting of the sun. Men may come and men may go, prices may rise or prices may fall, but like the poet's "brook," the generous instincts of the planter go on for ever. Indeed, I believe that his inclination to entertain his friends is enhanced, instead of being diminished, by the fact that he is engaged in the production of an article which, excellent as it is in its own place, is not wholly adapted to be the staple of such a festivity as this. Tea is never out of his thoughts in the daytime. Upon it he flourishes or pines. But, by an admirable law of reaction, when the evening comes on he invites his guests to dinner and he gives them something else.

I have now had the honour of being entertained by the planters of Tezapore and Silchar. I have similarly been the guest of the Companies that extract oil at Margherita and crush gold at Kolar. I have also been addressed by many Chambers of Commerce since I have been in this country. There are one or two words that I should like to say about the position of communities such as these in India. It is a position unlike that of the majority of us. The bulk of Englishmen here belong either to the

Army or to some branch of the Public Service. We are brought to India by a beneficent Government, are sustained by the same agency, and, after serving it for the stipulated term of years, we retire, gracefully or otherwise as the case may be. But the tea-planters of Assam and the South of India, like the teak-cutters of Burma, or the indigo-planters of Behar, or partners in the other industrial concerns which I have named, come here with different objects, and they work under a different system. Primarily, no doubt, they come to make a livelihood for themselves or to earn dividends for their shareholders. But secondarily, it cannot be forgotten that, if they take some money out of the country, they also bring a great deal in; where native capital, except perhaps in the case of the Parsis of Bombay, is so very timid and unventuresome, they produce and invest the rupees without which the country can never be developed, they employ and pay many hundreds of thousands of native workmen, and thereby raise the scale of wages, and they exploit the resources of parts of the country which would otherwise remain sterile or forgotten. They are, therefore, bearing their share in the great work of development, which in every sphere of activity, industrial, material, and moral, is required in order to enable a country to put forth its best and to realise its full measure of productivity or advancement.

Now, there is an old-fashioned idea that these independent pioneers of progress have nothing to do with Government, and that Government has no interest or concern in them. Sometimes, in the past, these ideas have bred feelings of estrangement and even of hostility between the two parties. Planters and others have been disposed to look upon Government and its ways with suspicion; and Government has perhaps retaliated by looking upon them with a cold and inconsiderate eye. That is not at all my view of our relative positions. I look upon all Englishmen in this country (and if any Scotchmen or Irishmen are present, pray do not let them think that I am excluding them) as engaged in different branches of the same great undertaking. Here we are all fellow-countrymen, comrades, and friends. The fact that some of us earn our livelihood or discharge

our duty by the work of administration, and others by cultivating the resources of the soil, does not differentiate us one from the other. These are merely the subdivisions of labour. They are not distinctions of object, or purpose, or aim.

Still more do I hold that relations of confidence and concord should prevail between the Government and those of its clients who are engaged upon the tasks to which I have referred. I repudiate altogether the fallacy that Government ought to be or need be antagonistic to private enterprise or industry or trade. It ought to be impartial, and sometimes it is bound to interfere. Both parties recognise that. But I maintain that equally is it a part of its duty to hold out the hand of friendship to industrial or commercial enterprise, to endeavour, by careful study, to understand its conditions, and to secure its loyal co-operation. That, at any rate, is the spirit in which I have endeavoured to approach and to handle these matters since I have been in this country. I gladly acknowledge that I have met with the most cordial reciprocity at the hands of every section of the business community, whether they were tea-planters or mine-owners or merchants or partners in other industrial concerns; and I truly believe that there is at the present time a feeling of mutual regard and friendliness between Government and the classes of whom I have been speaking, which is of great value to the smooth working of the machine of British Administration in this country.

In the case of the planters' industry, there is all the greater need for co-operation, since the labour that you employ is to a large extent procured and regulated by laws that have been passed by the State. In the Brahmaputra Valley it is in the main controlled by the Act which we revised and re-enacted last spring. Here, in the Surma Valley, where so-called free labour is more common, considerable advantage is taken of another law, Act xiii. of 1859, which was not passed for the purpose, but which has been applied—not always, as I think, quite fittingly or successfully—to the labour upon plantations. Anyhow, the existence of these two statutes, and the extent to which the tea-planting industry is dependent upon them, are indications of the

closeness of interest that must necessarily prevail between yourselves and the State.

As regards the present position of your fortunes, the Government is conscious of the hard times through which in many places the planters have been and still are passing. While the revised Act is coming into operation, what we need more than anything else is a period of diligent and peaceful adaptation to the circumstances of the new situation. We feel that we may reasonably call upon the planters to assist the Government in the execution of the law and in the fulfilment of its provisions; and I doubt not that we shall receive from them individually, as well as from their representative organisations, the ungrudging support to which we are entitled.

As I drove in here yesterday I had the honour of being escorted by a detachment of the Surma Valley Light Horse. I was reminded by it of the part that some members of that force have recently played upon a wider field than Assam. From the Surma Valley Light Horse came quite a number of recruits for that gallant contingent which Colonel Lumsden took out to South Africa, and of which I had the honour to be the honorary Colonel, the solitary military distinction that I have ever so far attained. I daresay that some of them are here to-night. A few, alas, have been left behind never to return, including the brave Major Showers, who was once your commandant here. His name, and that of the others who fell with him, will appear upon a brass tablet, which Lumsden's Horse have kindly allowed me as their honorary Colonel to order for erection in the Cathedral at Calcutta. I hope that it may be completed and placed *in situ* in the forthcoming cold weather. When you go down there, do not fail to drop in to the Cathedral in order to see this record of the valour of your old friends. It will be a perpetual memorial, not merely of the wonderful movement that ran like a thrill through the whole heart of the Empire some two years ago, but also of the individual contribution that was made to it by the patriotism of Sylhet and Silchar.

QUEEN VICTORIA MEMORIAL

PUBLIC MEETING, CALCUTTA

UPON the death of Queen Victoria, a public meeting, convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta, was held at the Town Hall, on February 6, 1901, to express deep sorrow at the death of the Queen-Empress, to convey an expression of loyalty and allegiance to the King on his accession to the throne, and to determine the most appropriate form of National Memorial that should be raised in the metropolis of India to perpetuate the memory of the late Sovereign. The Viceroy presided, and opened the proceedings with the following speech :—

We are met to-day upon a great and solemn occasion. For we are assembled to express, in the language, not of exaggeration or of compliment, but of simple truth, the feelings that lie deep in the hearts of all of us. They are feelings of a threefold character, of sorrow at the death of our beloved Queen, of loyalty to her successor the new King-Emperor Edward VII., and of our desire to commemorate the name and virtues of the deceased Sovereign by some enduring monument that shall hand down to later ages a visible memorial of our veneration and of her wonderful and glorious reign. I accept, therefore, with a mournful pride the honour which has been conferred upon me of presiding upon this historic occasion, and I will proceed to deal with the first resolution which has been committed to my care.

I have already had occasion to speak elsewhere of the character and life of the late Queen,¹ and I need not now either repeat what I then said, or encroach upon the ground of subsequent speakers. We all feel the same about her,

¹ Speech in the Legislative Council on February 1, not reproduced here.

whether we are Europeans or Indians. Our hearts are swelling with gratitude that we were fortunate enough to live under such a Sovereign, with an answering love for the great love that she bore to all of us alike, and with eagerness to preserve her memory imperishable for all time.

In India I venture to assert that there are special reasons why we should feel strongly, and act independently, and of our own initiative, in the matter. Queen Victoria loved India, as no other monarch, certainly no other monarch from another land, has done. The fifteen Governors-General who served her, and of whom I shall always feel it a sad honour to have been the last, could one and all testify to her abounding regard for this country. She wrote regularly to each of them with her own hand, during the more than sixty years of her reign, words of wise counsel and of tender sympathy for the people whom she had charged them to rule. As we know, she learned the Indian language when already advanced in years. She was never unattended by Indian servants, and we have read that they were entrusted with the last sorrowful office of watching over her body after death. In her two Jubilee processions she claimed that the Indian Princes, and the pick of her Indian soldiers, should ride in her train. There are many of those Princes who could testify to the interest she showed in them, to the gracious welcome which she always extended to them when in England, and to the messages of congratulation or sympathy which they often received from her own hand. But it was not to the rich or the titled alone that she was gracious. She was equally a mother to the humble and the poor, Hindu and Mohammedan, man and woman, the orphan and the widow, the outcast and the destitute. She spoke to them all in simple language that came straight from her heart and went straight to theirs. And these are the reasons why all India is in mourning to-day, and why I claim that there are special grounds for which we should meet together, with no loss of time, to determine what we shall do to perpetuate this precious memory and this beneficent reign.

It is not without much anxious forethought and deliberation that I venture to put before this meeting, and

before the Princes and peoples of India, a definite memorial scheme. We are all of us naturally attracted by the idea of charity. It fits in so well with what we know of Her Majesty's character, of the warmth of her heart, and the gentle sympathy that she always showed to the suffering and distressed. There is, God knows, enough of poverty and affliction in India—as indeed there must be in any great aggregation of so many millions of human beings—to appeal to any heart and to absorb any number of lakhs of rupees. But, amid all the possible claimants to our support, how should we select the favoured recipients? I have seen in the press a great number of suggestions made. Some have said that we should add a great sum to the Famine Relief Trust that was started last year by that munificent Prince, the Maharaja of Jaipur. Others have recommended the claims of Hindu widows, of female education, of travelling students, of the poor raiyat, of the sick and infirm, of technical or industrial schools, of higher research. In fact, there is not a philanthropic or educational object or institution in India that will not have its advocates for some share in the bounty that may be evoked on behalf of an Indian Memorial to Queen Victoria. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am the last to deny that all of these are admirable objects fully worthy of our interest and support. I am confident that any one of them individually would have appealed to the heart of the late Queen. But it is quite clear that we cannot give to them all, and that we are not in a position to select any one of their number upon which to concentrate the affectionate tributes of the peoples. Some of them would appeal to Hindus, but not at all to Mohammedans; others would gratify the educated classes, but not the unlettered; others again, would be confined to a single, though numerically the largest, class of the population.

Nor, again, would it do to pause in our appeals while we were disputing among ourselves upon which of these objects we should all unite. We should find that, before we had come to an agreement, we had wasted precious time and frittered away a golden opportunity, and that we had disappointed the eager hopes and the bursting

generosity of the people. Therefore it is that I have ventured to come forward and, in consultation with a number of experienced and representative gentlemen, both European and Indian, have formulated the scheme which has appeared in the Press. I dare to think that the conception is a not ignoble one, and that it will not be unworthy of the great Sovereign whom we desire to commemorate, of all the princes who are emulous to do her honour, and of this wonderful country which has felt for her a loyalty aroused by no other human being. Posterity is apt to forget in whose honour charities were originally founded, or endowments named. Some day in the future the endowment itself is converted to another purpose, and the design of the original contributors is forgotten. Who, for instance, when Queen Anne's Bounty is annually distributed in England to augment the incomes of the smaller clergy, spares a thought for poor Queen Anne? On the other hand, it is different with a concrete memorial. It remains a visible and speaking monument to the individual, or the period, that is so commemorated. I venture to say that more good has been done in arousing public interest in the Navy in England, and in developing the lesson of patriotism in young Englishmen, by the spectacle of the heroic figure of Nelson standing on the summit of the great column in Trafalgar Square than would have been the case had the nation founded a hundred training ships, or endowed a score of naval hospitals in his honour. But I can give you an even higher authority, namely, the authority of Her Majesty the Queen herself. When her husband, the Prince Consort, died in 1861, and a large sum was raised by public subscription for the foundation of a National Memorial to the deceased Prince, the Queen herself was asked what form she would prefer the memorial to take. I will read to you the terms of her reply. She wrote as follows to the Lord Mayor of London:—

It would be more in accordance with the feelings of the Queen, and she believes with those of the country in general, that the monument should be directly personal to its object. After giving the subject her maturest consideration, Her Majesty had come to the conclusion that nothing would be more

appropriate, provided it was on a scale of sufficient grandeur, than a personal memorial to be erected in Hyde Park.

These were the Queen's own words ; and this was the origin of that noble Albert Memorial, which no one ever goes to London without seeing, which is one of the glories of the metropolis, and which will perpetuate to hundreds of thousands of persons who will never have heard of the Albert Orphan Asylum, or the Albert Medals, or the Albert Institute, the memory of the beloved and virtuous Consort of the British Queen.

And so I ask why should we not do for the Queen herself in the capital of India what she asked to have done for her husband in the capital of Great Britain ? Shall we not be carrying out what we are justified in saying would have been in accordance with her own sentiments ? Let us, therefore, have a building, stately, spacious, monumental, and grand, to which every newcomer in Calcutta will turn, to which all the resident population, European and Native, will flock, where all classes will learn the lessons of history, and see revived before their eyes the marvels of the past : and where father shall say to son and mother to daughter—“ This Statue and this great Hall were erected in the memory of the greatest and best Sovereign whom India has ever known. She lived far away over the seas, but her heart was with her subjects in India, both of her own race, and of all others. She loved them both the same. In her time, and before it, great men lived, and great deeds were done. Here are their memorials. This is her monument.” Gentlemen, a nation that is not aware that it has had a past, will never care to possess a future ; and I believe that, if we raise such a building as has been sketched, and surround it with an exquisite garden, we shall most truly, in the words of Shakespeare, find a tongue in the trees, and a sermon in the sculptured stones, that will proclaim to later generations the glory of an unequalled epoch, and the beauty of a spotless name.

I must add that I would be the last person to desire that the erection of a National Memorial here should stand in the way of the dedication of funds, should it be so desired, to local objects elsewhere. We do not want to coerce, or to

dictate to anybody. A donor is entitled to a free choice of the object for which he contributes. There may be a strong desire expressed in different parts of India for a provincial local memorial, quite independently of ours. This seems to me quite natural. I do not see why any Presidency or Province should not please itself. They have their local standpoint and interests. They may want their memorial, whatever form it may take, all to themselves. There must be no jealousy in the matter. At the mouth of the grave all petty feelings must be extinguished ; and charity which, as our great Christian Apostle has told us, "envieth not, vaunteth not itself, and is not puffed up," must quarrel with nobody, but must be permitted to seek and find its own outlet. Even in such cases, however, I hope that the local Committees may decide to transmit to us a certain proportion of their funds, so that they may have their share in the monument of the nation. But I really think that I may go further and may put it to these various communities whether, except in cases where there is an obvious opening for local commemoration, they will not be acting wisely and reasonably in contributing to the Central Fund. And I say so for two reasons : partly because I want everyone—all the Princes, and all the Provinces, and all the States—to have their part and portion in this National Memorial, and partly because if they respond to the appeal on at all the scale that seems to me not unlikely, it is possible that not merely may we have funds for the erection, and equipment, and endowment of this building, but we may have a balance that may appropriately be dedicated to some object of national charity or beneficence. What it should be I cannot now say. Indeed, it would be premature to discuss an object before we have collected the money. But I make these observations in order to indicate that philanthropy is by no means excluded from our purview, and that the wider the response to our appeal, the more likely we are able to supplement the Victoria Hall by some object that may gratify those who have a charitable or moral purpose at heart.

Now, may I just say one word about the selection of Calcutta as a site? It is quite true that Calcutta is not

the gate of India. But neither is Washington the gate of America, nor Ottawa the gate of Canada, nor Rome the gate of Italy ; and yet no one would dream, or has dreamed, of erecting a great American, or Canadian, or Italian, national memorial, except at those capitals. For instance, the Washington obelisk was erected, not at New York, a city of two millions of people, but at the capital, a city of a quarter of a million. Calcutta, in the same way, quite apart from being the most populous, is also the capital city of India. This generation did not make it so ; but so it is, and it is now too late for the present, or for succeeding generations, to unmake it. The seat of Government inevitably tends to acquire a metropolitan character. The presence of the Supreme Government here for five months out of every twelve cannot be gainsaid. It was from the banks of the Hugli that the orders of the Governor-General in Council were issued that bore the names of Warren Hastings and Dalhousie ; and the same process will, I suppose, go on in the future.

I merely make these remarks in order to argue that, if a National Monument is a desirable thing, I think that Calcutta is the inevitable site. It is said that we are rather out of the way. Perhaps we are ; and yet sooner or later, just because this is the seat of Government, everybody finds his way here, whether he be an Indian Prince, or a European traveller, or an English merchant. Of course there are other cities with magnificent associations: Bombay with its splendid appearance, Delhi with its imperial memories, Agra with its majestic monuments, Madras with its historic renown. But the two seaports will probably have their own memorials : Agra is consecrated to a vanished dynasty and régime ; while it is now too late—I sometimes wish it were not—to turn Delhi again into an imperial capital. No one will, I think, contend that we could possibly place a building of this character in a locality, however famous its past, or however central its position, where the Government of India is never found, which is not even the capital of a local Government, and where there is neither a European civil nor military population of any size. This building, if it is to be a great success, and if its contents are to be worthy of

its name, will probably require the keen personal interest of the Viceroy for a number of years to come. I think that the making of the collection will thereby be a good deal facilitated. This interest I am quite prepared, and I am sure that my successors will equally be prepared, to give to it. But I doubt very much whether we could do it as well, or at all, at a distance.

I am glad to be able to say that I think the prospects of a remarkable, and indeed unexampled, response to our appeal, are encouraging. Since the scheme which I ventured to propound has been put forward, it has met with a most gratifying support at the hands of all the representative organs of the Press, both European and Native, in Calcutta. I am very grateful to them for their discriminating and reasoned support. It has been communicated to the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces of British India, who are about to hold meetings at which its merits will be discussed. It has excited the warm sympathy of the mercantile community in Calcutta, who have come forward with their accustomed liberality, and to whose contributions I shall presently refer. And, finally, it has appealed to the enthusiastic devotion, and the boundless generosity, of the Princes of India, who have lost in the Queen a Sovereign whom they all worshipped, a mother whom they revered, and who, I prophesy, will be found to vie with each other in their desire to contribute to the immortality of her name. One of these Princes is with us to-day—His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, who, if I may say so before his face, has, at a comparatively early age, displayed exceptional capacities, and has already testified, with a splendid and princely munificence, his loyalty to the British Crown. It is in keeping with the generous instincts of His Highness that he should have sent me a telegram, as soon as he heard of the institution of this fund, offering me the regal donation of 10 lakhs. From the Maharaja of Kashmir I have had the splendid offer of 15 lakhs. The Maharaja of Jaipur has expressed a desire to increase his magnificent endowment of the Famine Trust by another four lakhs and to give five lakhs in addition to the Memorial Fund. From the Mysore Durbar I have received

the preliminary offer, to be increased, should the necessity arise, of one lakh. Now these offers have placed me in a position of some little embarrassment. For, while they testify to the noble instincts of their donors, they may yet be held to set a standard to which others may find it difficult to conform, and they may result in our receiving a sum largely in excess of our maximum ambitions. I have, therefore, decided to leave the matter in this way. It is too early at present to form any idea either of the sum that this National Memorial will cost, or of the extent of the contributions that are likely to be offered. I do not want at the start to stint the liberality of any man. But if, a little later, we find that we are receiving sums in excess of those which we can properly spend, then I think that it will be a reasonable thing to fix a maximum, perhaps of one lakh of rupees, beyond which we should not be willing to profit by the generosity of any individual donor, and to which we should limit our acceptance of the larger offers that had been made. There is a sort of emulation in giving for a noble object; and it rests, I think, with those of us who are responsible for the management of this fund not to allow these instincts, however praiseworthy or honourable, to place too severe a strain upon the income of an individual or the revenues of a State.

And now I pass from the contributions of the Princes to those of the public at large. Here I rejoice to say that already the offers that have reached me have been splendid in their scale of munificence. Although the fund has not yet been opened for more than two days, I am able to announce subscriptions amounting to over $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs

I think, therefore, that I may fairly claim that we have launched the ship under good auspices, and that she is sailing with a fair wind behind her.

I have now dealt with all the topics that fall under the motion assigned to me, and I will only, in conclusion, urge you, in accepting it, to give the rein to a generosity that shall be worthy of the revered and illustrious memory which we desire to honour, of Bengal and Calcutta, the capital Presidency and the capital city of this country, and

lastly of India itself, the mightiest and the most loyal dependency of the British Crown.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

On February 26, 1901, a special meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal was held at the Dalhousie Institute, Calcutta, at which the Viceroy explained at length his scheme for the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria. His address was as follows:—

I do not think it necessary to say much about the general question of the proposed Memorial Hall to Queen Victoria in Calcutta. A good deal of the doubt or misconception that at first existed arose from ignorance of the real nature of the plan. This has been in the main dissipated by the publication of the full text of the original Memorandum, and of the proceedings at our meeting of February 6 in the Calcutta Town Hall. There only remain a few points in this connection upon which something may be added. It is quite clear, and, as I have before said, very natural and proper, that different parts of India and different localities should institute their own memorials, although it is not always easy to determine what they shall be. The question before us, and before me in particular, was whether there should be a National Memorial as well. My view was that this was an occasion on which India would desire not merely to express its deep devotion to the late Queen's memory, but also to demonstrate to the world, in some striking manner, the truth of that Imperial unity which was so largely the creation of her personality and reign. Had each province been left exclusively to erect its own memorial, and had no effort been made to concentrate the public sentiment in some grander conception, we should doubtless have had, as we shall have, a number of excellent funds, and institutions, and buildings. They would have represented the feelings and the generosity of the individual province or locality, but they would not have condensed or typified the emotions of the nation. Visitors to India, and posterity in general, would hear or know little about this fund or that trust, however considerable the original endowment sub-

scribed ; the income derived from it, whether applied to charitable objects, or to the advancement of education or research, could benefit but a small number of persons out of the population even of the province or district ; and so, in time, the name and memory of the Great and Good Queen would have faded out of the public mind, because there was no visible object to bring it perpetually under the eye of future generations.

The case, therefore, for a National Memorial seemed to me to be a very strong one, and nothing that I have read, or that has occurred since, has done anything to shake it. The question next arose whether, an all-Indian memorial being accepted, it should or should not have assumed a concrete shape. There is much, I think, to be said on both sides of this question ; and we ourselves felt this so strongly that we decided to pronounce for neither to the exclusion of the other. All that we did was to give priority to the concrete memorial, or, in other words, to ensure its execution as a first charge upon the fund. No one could say, none of us can yet tell, what will be the total sum that we shall collect, or whether it would have been adequate to the constitution of a capital fund the income accruing from which could be devoted to an object of really national service. Moreover, amid all the multiplicity of opinions, no one could inform us, and no one has yet been able to decide, what should be the non-concrete object to which an all-Indian contribution should be applied. And, if this difficulty has been felt by smaller communities, who are only called upon to express the desires or to provide for the needs of restricted areas, how much more does it apply, and on a hundredfold scale of magnitude, to the entire continent. I think, therefore, it will be conceded that, given the desirability of a National Memorial, we acted not unwisely in allowing priority to the concrete monument, leaving to subsequent discussion the allocation of the surplus funds that we may receive. Though I should not like to be too sanguine at the present stage, it seems to me to be not at all improbable that we may be presented with a total sum large enough to enable us, after building the hall, to do something substantial in the interests of charity ; and no one will be better pleased than myself if

this is the result. I have devoted much anxious thought to a consideration of the numerous suggestions that have been made. I have read many scores, if not hundreds, of these, and have been struck by the fact that, meritorious as many of them are, no two are identical. In other words, there is no sort of national unanimity on the subject. For the present I am disposed to think—if there be such a surplus—that we shall find it difficult to fix upon a better object to which to devote it than the Indian People's Famine Trust, which was inaugurated by that splendid donation from the Maharaja of Jaipur last year. Famine is the one great calamity that is capable of attacking the whole country. Its relief is the one great charitable boon that will affect not isolated units, or even hundreds of thousands, but millions. Moreover, the objects of the Famine Relief Trust are outside of, and do not conflict with, the proper sphere of Government duty. These, however, are only my own ideas, and I give them for what they may be worth.

As regards Technical Education, I have not a word to say against an object in itself so admirable. It is in many ways the need of the future in India. But I have this to say about it at the present stage. The interest upon no fund that might be accumulated could possibly provide for more than the education of an infinitesimal minority per annum among the youths of India. The principles upon which they are to be trained, and the openings that might be found for their professional abilities and attainments, are not yet determined, and even in England, after fifteen years of struggle and discussion, are still in a fluid state. Finally, I hardly think it fair to connect the desire to commemorate the Queen's name with a task that has no definite association with her memory, and that is so pre-eminently the duty of the Government and of the community in combination as that of providing for the education of a particular section of the population. Some people talk and write as though technical instruction were going to solve the Indian agrarian problem, and to convert millions of needy peasants into flourishing artisans. Long after every one in this room has mouldered into dust the economic problem will confront the rulers of India. It is not to be solved by a batch of Insti-

tutes or a cluster of Polytechnics. They will scarcely produce a ripple in the great ocean of social and industrial forces. Indeed, if they were to fail, or to remain empty, as might conceivably be the case at this stage of our evolution, and as has been the case with some of the premature experiments already made, where would the memory and honour of Queen Victoria be? Technical education is a problem that must be met by the patient and combined efforts of the Supreme Government, the local Governments, Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce, mercantile firms, and philanthropic and enterprising men. Let us all give to it that attention, but do not let us use the Queen's name to absolve us from our legitimate responsibilities.

It seems to me, therefore, that if we succeed in raising a great National Fund, which is partly devoted to the building of the Victoria Hall and partly to the still further endowment of the Famine Trust, we shall, at the same time, have erected an impressive and enduring memorial to the name of Queen Victoria, and shall have consecrated the feelings aroused by her death to the service of the people in a manner that will beneficially affect the largest number. In the meantime, however, I have no desire to pronounce with finality upon the secondary or utilitarian object; and, while our funds are accumulating, I shall be very glad to profit by the advice that will doubtless continue to reach me from many influential quarters.

Next I come to the question whether, presuming an all-Indian memorial to be desirable, it was for the Viceroy to place himself at the head of the movement. I must leave this delicate question to be decided by the voice of others, not by my own. Perhaps, after all, the result will be the most conclusive answer. All I would say at this moment is that, if the position of the Viceroy is to be what, in my opinion, it ought to be, the opportunity of fusing and giving expression to the aspirations of the entire community is one that he should be proud to seize; and that, if in some quarters it be said that he should have left the movement to ferment and to come to a head as best it could, I suspect that, had this advice been followed, it would have been said in a good many other quarters that he had signally failed

to realise the unique opportunities of his position, and had allowed a golden occasion to slip by of vindicating the loyalty and the devotion of the Indian Empire to the British throne.

I pass to another of the preliminary questions which it has been desirable to discuss. It appears to have been thought in some quarters that the scheme for a Victoria Hall in Calcutta has been snatched up, so to speak, in precipitate haste, and foisted almost without consideration upon the notice of the public. This is far from having been the case. This scheme was not for the first time conceived and matured during the fortnight that elapsed between the death of Her Majesty the Queen and the Town Hall Meeting. On the contrary, it has rarely been out of my mind during the two years in which I have been in India. I had been collecting information, consulting individuals, working out all the possible ramifications of the proposal, long before the Queen was smitten by her last fatal illness. I had of course no idea at that time of proposing such a building as a permanent memorial to the Queen, because so marvellous was her vitality that such an idea as her early decease had never entered into our minds. But I had hoped, before leaving India, to carry the idea into execution as a fulfilment of what I regard as a great imperial duty, viz. the handing down to posterity of what the past has failed to provide for us, that is, a standing record of our wonderful history, a visible monument of Indian glories, and an illustration, more eloquent than any spoken address or printed page, of the lessons of public patriotism and civic duty. I had even gone so far as to talk over this scheme with friends, to prepare designs for a building, and to think of where it might be placed. Then came the death of the Queen; and then it was that, not merely in my own mind, but in that of the representative persons whom I consulted, the idea took shape that we were already in possession of the germ of a great imperial memorial, worthy of Queen Victoria and worthy of India. It was, therefore, no sudden or inchoate project that was submitted to the Calcutta Meeting. On the contrary, how complete it was the information that I shall presently place before you will enable you to judge.

There is only one other prefatory question to which it is necessary to advert. I have seen it asked why, instead of suggesting a scheme to others, I did not write to all the Princes, and Governors, and leading men, and ask them to suggest one to me, and then decide according to the nature of their replies. I invite you soberly to consider what the contents of such a post-bag would have been. It needs no intuition to discern that I should have received not one scheme but one hundred, and I daresay as many more. And then a representative committee would have had to be convened in order to discuss these schemes. It would have taken some weeks to assemble. Its deliberations would probably have taken as many months, and meanwhile where would the enthusiasm and the liberality of the people have been? We all know that even the noblest emotions are apt to dwindle or to be chilled if an outlet is not provided for them while they are still warm, and a course more likely to freeze the heart of the generous Indian public than that which has been suggested I cannot imagine.

From this brief discussion of what I have called preliminary questions, I now pass on to a more detailed examination of the scheme of a Victoria Hall, as it exists in the minds of those who have originated it. And the first subject to which I shall address myself is this. What will be the contents of the building when raised? I shall next ask, Where and how can they be procured? And having attempted to answer both these questions, I shall, I trust, have left a clear impression in the mind of the public both as to what the scheme is and as to what it is not. Even among those who have warmly supported the idea, some doubts have been expressed on these points. "You are going to build a magnificent hall which will only be a second-class museum or an empty shell. You talk of collecting Indian relics and trophies, where are they? You want to commemorate great men and great events, who and what are they?" These are the sort of questions—and I do not regard them as unreasonable—that have been addressed to me. Indeed in some quarters there has been an attempt to throw ridicule upon the entire scheme. I shall, I hope, be able to show these critics that there is no ground for their

unfriendly suspicions ; and that all India may legitimately be asked to co-operate in a movement which, if its help be given, may easily be endowed with a truly cosmopolitan character, which will have a most practical as well as a sentimental side, and will contain not trash but treasures.

The building will be called the Victoria Memorial Hall. It will therefore, I think, be befitting that a central hall or a central space should be devoted to the mementoes of Her Majesty the Queen. Whether or not the statue of the Queen that has already been executed shall be erected inside or outside this building, is a matter that will remain over for subsequent decision. Probably it will remain outside. A separate representation of Her Majesty might perhaps be placed inside the hall. Around it might be grouped memorials of her reign. It might be possible to secure autograph letters from her to the various Governors-General and Viceroys who have had the honour to serve her. I at any rate shall be prepared to contribute, as the last. Some other personal relics we may be so fortunate as to secure. Upon the walls of this hall might be inscribed in letters of gold upon marble or upon bronze, both in English and in the different vernaculars, the famous Proclamation of 1858, and such other messages as the Queen has, at various times, addressed to the Indian people. If the originals are procurable, they might be placed in glass cases below. The Emperor Asoka has spoken to posterity for 2200 years through his inscriptions on rock and on stone. Why should not Queen Victoria do the same?

I have, on a previous occasion, observed that the Memorial Hall would be devoted to the commemoration of notable events and remarkable men, both Indian and European, in the history of this country. I will now proceed to indicate the character of the incidents and the personality of the individuals who may perhaps be held worthy of this honour, and the manner in which it may be conferred. At the beginning it is almost necessary to draw a line which shall be the starting point of our historical procession. I may say at once that the idea is not to convert this hall into an archæological museum, or to compete with the various institutions of that character that

already exist in different parts of the country. I conceive it to be impracticable in a single building to convey a synopsis of all Indian history from the time of the Aryan immigration to the days of electric tramways and motor cars. I have not the slightest desire to accumulate here Buddhistic sculptures, or implements of the bronze and stone ages. They will find their home more fitly in the imperial and provincial museums. Similarly, I do not think that we can include representations of the legendary and quasi-mythological epochs of Indian history, the period, in fact, of the epics. Anything that dates from those days can only be a copy of originals existing elsewhere, or can have what is in the main an antiquarian rather than a historical interest. In practice it will, I think, be found that the earliest date from which it will be possible to accumulate any sort of original record, will be the foundation of the Moghul dynasty. We may begin with Baber, and from then we may continue to the present date. Throughout the world progress seems to have taken a definite leap forward at about the same epoch ; and the situation will be much the same as though in England we began to make a collection with the Tudors, in Russia with Ivan the Terrible, in France with Francis I., in Germany with Charles V., in Turkey with Solyman the Magnificent, in Persia with the Sefavi dynasty, in Japan with Iyeyasu.

I will first take Indian history. It ought, I think, to be possible to obtain some records of every period and every dynasty from the Moghuls to the present day. These records would take the form of paintings, enamels, sculptures, manuscripts, and personal relics and belongings. I have heard of there being offered for sale in India in recent years the head-dress of Akbar and the armour of Jehangir. Passing to the Mahratta ascendancy, we should procure portraits of Sivaji and the leading Mahratta princes, generals, and statesmen. Then, if we turn to the Sikhs, we should have similar memorials of the leading Gurus, from Nanak to Guru Govind, of Maharajas Ranjit Singh, Sher Singh, and Golab Singh of Jummu and Kashmir. All of these are, I believe, procurable. From Rajputana we should collect memorials of Rana Pertab of Mewar, Raja Man Singh, and Siwai Jai

Singh, the astronomer of Jaipur, and Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. From Gwalior we should desire to commemorate Mahadaji Rao Scindia and Dowlet Rao Scindia; from Bhopal the Nawab Sikandra Begum; from Hyderabad Asaf Jah, the first Nizam. For my own part I should not hesitate for a moment to include those who have fought against the British, provided that their memories are not sullied with dishonour or crime. I would not admit so much as the fringe of the *pagri* of a ruffian like the Nana Sahib. But I would gladly include memorials of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan of Mysore. There is, I believe, a very interesting picture of the death of Tippu at Seringapatam in the palace of the Nawab of Murshidabad. If we come to more modern times, I have already collected, with the aid of those gentlemen who have been good enough to advise me, a list of the names of eminent Indian statesmen, writers, poets, administrators, judges, religious reformers and philanthropists who might be entitled to commemoration in such a Valhalla. I will mention a few typical names alone:—Omichund, the great Bengal banker in the days of Lord Clive, Ali Verdi Khan, Raja Naba Kissen, Mir Jafar, Chaitanya, the founder of Vishnuism, Dwarkanath Tagore, Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, who died in England, Keshub Chunder Sen, whose portrait is in the Town Hall, Rajendra Lal Mitra, the antiquarian, Raja Krishna Chandra, Sir Syed Ahmed, the founder of the Aligarh College, Pundit Ishwar Chandra Vidayasar, the social reformer and philanthropist. To these might be added the more eminent of the Nawabs Nazim of Bengal, and of the Talukdars of Oudh. In the memorandum previously issued were mentioned the names of well-known statesmen or public characters, such as Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Madhava Rao, Sir Salar Jung, Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhoy.

I now pass to British history. Here we shall endeavour to secure portraits, or busts, or memento—es—and where the originals are not forthcoming, reproductions may perhaps be available—of the long line of distinguished men who have made the British Empire in India. They will fall into several categories; the pioneers of commerce and empire—such as Sir T. Roe, Job Charnock, Sir Josiah Child;

Governors, Governors-General, and Viceroys from Governor Holwell and Lord Clive to modern times ; famous personages, such as Sir Philip Francis and Elijah Impey ; eminent Governors or Lieutenant-Governors or Administrators of the provinces—such names, for instance, as Thomas Pitt, the grandfather of Lord Chatham, Sir Thomas Munro, and Streynsham Master from Madras ; Sir John Malcolm, Mount-stuart Elphinstone, Sir Bartle Frere, Sir Richard Temple from Bombay ; Sir Henry Lawrence, James Thomason, Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Henry Ramsay, from other provinces. There will be a category of great generals and soldiers of whom I may instance a few—Sir Eyre Coote, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, Lord Lake, Lord Harris, Lord Keane, Sir David Ochterlony, Sir Charles Napier, Sir James Outram, Lord Gough, Sir Henry Havelock, Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), Sir Hugh Rose (Lord Strathnairn), Lord Roberts. There will be frontier heroes, such as Sir Herbert Edwardes, Colonel James Skinner, Colonel John Jacob, and General John Nicholson ; military adventurers such as the famous George Thomas, who rose from being a sailor and a cavalry leader to be Raja of Hansi, and the cluster of foreigners who entered the service of Mysore, the Mahrattas, and Ranjit Singh. There will be the men of letters and science ; historians, such as Orme, Tod, Sleeman, Elliot, James Mill, Lord Macaulay, Sir John Kaye, Sir William Hunter ; students or scholars or antiquarians, such as Sir William Jones, James Rennell, H. H. Wilson, H. T. Colebrooke, James Prinsep, Sir Alexander Cunningham, Professor Max Müller, Professor Monier Williams, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Yule ; financiers, such as James Wilson ; jurists, such as Sir Henry Maine and Sir James Stephen ; explorers and pioneers, such as Captain John Wood, Alexander Barnes, Moorcroft, Hayward, Sir Joseph Hooker ; reformers and philanthropists, churchmen and missionaries, such as John Clark Marshman, Carey, David Hare, Dr. Duff, Bishop Heber, and Cotton. These are only a few of the names that have occurred to me, and are neither a complete nor an exhaustive list. They are merely typical instances of the service and the character that have helped to build up the fabric of British

dominion in India, and that seem to me to be entitled to the honour of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity.

And now, having specified the type of person whom it is proposed to honour, let me pass on to the methods by which it may be done. One or more of the galleries of the Victoria Hall will doubtless be devoted to sculpture. Here will be collected the life-size figures, or the busts and medallions, of great men. A large number of these memorials, as I shall show presently, are already in existence, and will, it is hoped, be available for our purpose. I shall indicate methods by which others may be procured. Cases will arise in the future in which a desire to commemorate some eminent person may not justify, either in the scope of the services rendered or in the extent of the money subscribed, the crowning honour of a statue on the maidan. The busts of such persons will appropriately be placed in the sculpture gallery of the Victoria Hall.

A second gallery or galleries will be devoted to paintings, engravings, prints, and pictorial representations in general, both of persons and of scenes. Here will be hung original pictures and likenesses, or where these are not procurable, copies of such. There are still scattered about in Calcutta and Bengal, and I daresay in other parts of India, quite a number of oil paintings, dating from the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the last, commemorative of interesting persons and events. Now and then these find their way into the auction-room. More commonly they rot into decay. It is possible, in mezzotints and stipple and line engravings, to recover almost a continuous history of Anglo-Indian worthies, battles, sieges, landscapes, buildings, forts, and scenes during the last two hundred years.

While speaking of pictorial representation, it has been suggested to me that around the open corridors of the inner courts and quadrangles of the building might be depicted frescoes of memorable incidents or events. Fresco-painting is an art in which the Indian craftsman once excelled. Witness the pictured caves of Ajunta, the painted walls and ceilings of Fatehpur Sikri, the decorated pavilions of Agra and Delhi, the brilliant summer-house of Tippu at Seringa-

patam. This art is not extinct in India, and is being fostered and revivified in Institutes and Schools of Art. I do not see why great historic scenes, such as the three battles of Panipat or the battles of Plassey, Sobraon, Assaye, Miani ; the self-immolation of Rani Pudmine and the women of Chitor, the Rahtor Queen closing the city gates against her husband when he returned defeated, the first audience of British factors with the Great Moghul, the relief of the Residency at Lucknow, the Proclamation of the Queen at Allahabad in 1858, the Delhi Durbar of 1877, should not be thus commemorated. Precautions would have to be taken for the proper conservation of the frescoes during the rains. If pigments were found to be an unsuitable medium, however applied, recourse might be had to mosaics. Should more durable memorials still be preferred, it might be decided to fix bronze or copper plates in panels on the inner walls, containing inscriptions or bas-reliefs, dedicated to memorable scenes.

In the centre of the galleries that are occupied by paintings, or in adjoining rooms, I suggest that there should be placed stands and cases, with glass lids, containing the correspondence and handwriting, the personal relics and trophies and belongings of great men. It ought to be possible to procure autograph letters of all the Governors-General and Viceroys of India, and of the majority of those whose names have already been mentioned. Miniatures, articles of costume, objects that belonged in lifetime to the deceased, and that recall his personality or his career—all of these will fitly appear in such a collection. I may mention as an illustration the objects that are exhibited in the King's Library at the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in many kindred institutions.

A wider extension of the same principle may be applied to the commemoration of historical events. I should like to exhibit the originals, or where these cannot be procured copies, of Treaties, and Sanads, and Charters. I fancy that the original Charter of Queen Elizabeth of 31st December 1600 to the merchants of the East India Company is no longer extant, and that the earliest surviving grant is that of Charles II. in 1661. Excellent facsimiles have been made

dominion in India, and that seem to me to be entitled to the honour of grateful commemoration at the hands of posterity.

And now, having specified the type of person whom it is proposed to honour, let me pass on to the methods by which it may be done. One or more of the galleries of the Victoria Hall will doubtless be devoted to sculpture. Here will be collected the life-size figures, or the busts and medallions, of great men. A large number of these memorials, as I shall show presently, are already in existence, and will, it is hoped, be available for our purpose. I shall indicate methods by which others may be procured. Cases will arise in the future in which a desire to commemorate some eminent person may not justify, either in the scope of the services rendered or in the extent of the money subscribed, the crowning honour of a statue on the maidan. The busts of such persons will appropriately be placed in the sculpture gallery of the Victoria Hall.

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in England of several of these documents. It may be noted in passing that the copy of Magna Charta which is exhibited in the British Museum is not the original, but only a reproduction. The oldest extant MS., which is itself not the original, is kept under lock and key in a fire-proof safe elsewhere. A great many original documents are, however, in the possession of the Government of India, or of the India Office at home; and a selection of the more interesting or important might be made from these. As regards earlier Indian history we may perhaps be so fortunate as to come into possession, or may be favoured with the loan, of Oriental manuscripts of which there are still a great many in this country, though, from lack of care and of means for collecting them, the majority have either perished or are fast leaving the country.

From documents or manuscripts it is a natural transition to maps and plans, both Native and European. It should not be difficult to collect, either in original or in duplicate, a complete set of all the maps of Calcutta from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day. Similar plans should be procurable of Fort St. George at Madras and of Bombay, and of many other factories, cities, and forts throughout the country. There is no means of studying local history and topography to compare with that of maps, and I should hope that we might acquire and exhibit a first-rate collection.

Side by side with maps I should be inclined to place newspapers. We could not hope to make any complete collection. That is the function of a library or of a museum. But a careful selection of some of the rarer or more interesting specimens might throw valuable sidelights upon the past. Coins might also be very properly included. Here we might make an exception and penetrate even further back than the Moghul days. A microcosm of the history of India through all the ages might be constructed from a classified exhibit of the different coins that have been current in India, Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, Hindu, Afghan, Moghul, and finally British, including a specimen of every coin that has been struck in India during the Queen's reign. From the contents of a few cases we might grasp

the outlines of history more vividly than from a library of books.

Among other objects that have occurred, or have been suggested, to me, I may mention musical instruments and porcelain. To some extent these are rather on the line between a historical gallery, which the Victoria Hall is intended to be, and a museum of the arts. Both, however, have a definite historical bearing. In a country where music has reached such a high pitch of development as in India, a collection of native instruments is in a certain sense a page of history. In the case of china, it may be even more so. For instance, there is no more interesting record than the few surviving pieces of the magnificent dinner services that were used in the time of the old East India Company. We have only a few specimens left in Government House, the bulk having long ago perished. There used to be a great deal at Madras, but what little of this was left has, I believe, drifted to London.

And now I pass to what I hope may be a leading feature of the Victoria Hall. Several of the Indian Princes have already subscribed to the Central Memorial Fund. I have little doubt that many more will do so. I have observed in those organs of the press which have addressed themselves to belittling this scheme, the suggestion that pressure has been, or will be, brought upon Princes or Durbars to contribute. This insinuation is both ungenerous and unjust. No solicitation has been, or will be, made. It is open to a native Chief to join or to stand aloof as he pleases. He is not likely to set before himself any other standard than the measure of his own desire to join in a National Memorial to the Queen. That their contributions will not be devoted to an object in which they will bear no part or share will be evident from what I am about to say. The wonderful history of the Native States, the splendour of their courts, the achievements of their great men, can only fitfully be gathered by the visitor to India, or even by the resident in the country, from visits to their capitals and courts. I should like to constitute a Princes' Court or gallery in the Victoria Hall, where such memorials should be collected as the Princes were willing to contribute or to lend. We might

collect pictures of leading Princes and Chiefs. We might commemorate notable events in their dynasties and lives. They might be willing in some cases to present us from their armouries with duplicates of the large collections that are there contained. Spears, and battle-axes, and swords, shields and horse-trappings and coats of mails—these are the abundant relics, in India and elsewhere, of an age of chivalry. Where gifts are not found possible, the Chiefs might be prepared, as is so often done by the Royal Family, by noblemen, and by rich collectors in England, to allow a portion of their collections to appear on temporary loan, the lender being of course put to no expense, and his possessions being returned to him at the termination of such period as he himself desired.

Whatever be our success as regards native arms, I entertain no doubt of being able to amass a first-rate collection of British specimens. I would propose to devote one gallery to a chronological illustration of the history of British Arms in this country. I would present in cases a complete collection of British uniforms from the days of the earliest sepoys of the Company to modern times. From the various arsenals it will be a matter of ease to collect specimens of the muskets, carbines, and rifles, the powder-flasks and pistols, the swords and lances, the cannon and guns of the various phases of military fashion in this country. An enclosed verandah in the fort at Lahore is so packed at present with Sikh trophies that everything cannot be got inside. Elsewhere military trophies are lying scattered about unhonoured and unknown. In the same gallery I would place a complete collection of British medals that have been granted for service in this country and on its borders; and here too I should hope will repose the tattered regimental banners that tell the tale of glory won, and pass on an inspiration to successors.

Another very proper adjunct of the Victoria Hall would be a collection of models. There are many objects of immense historic interest which we either cannot procure, because they have vanished, or could not introduce into our galleries because of their size and unsuitability. These may very fitly be represented by models. Such models might,

for instance, be made of the ships that have brought European merchants and adventurers to India, from the vessel in which Vasco da Gama first cast anchor in the harbour of Calicut on May 20, 1498, to the pioneer sloops, a century later, of Captain James Lancaster and Sir Henry Middleton, and from them to the four-masted sailing ships that still lift their spars against the sunset on the Hugli, and the ocean liners whose smoking funnels bear the colours of the British India and the P. and O. Nor need models be confined to ships. Nothing brings home more closely the stories of battlefields; and sieges, and assaults than well-designed models. The storming of Chitor or Gwalior, of Bhurtpore or Seringapatam, becomes a different thing to all of us when we have the actual scene reproduced in miniature before our eyes. I shall certainly have placed in the gallery a model of old Fort William in Calcutta, of which I am at present engaged in identifying and demarcating the outlines. I remember when at Oxford seeing in the Bodleian Library a white marble model of the Calcutta Cathedral according to the original and uncompleted design. But why it should repose at Oxford instead of Calcutta I do not know.

I have now dealt to the best of my ability with the principal categories of objects that appear to be suitable for inclusion in the Victoria Hall. Perhaps my hearers will be inclined to agree with the friend who, after I had unbosomed myself to him on the matter, exclaimed, "Why, the danger is that you will have, not too little, but too much!" I will now proceed to point out the sources from which these and similar objects may be procured.

Two main channels of collection I have already indicated, namely, gift and loan. Many persons who would not be willing to part with cherished possessions might consent to lend them; and, as in the Bethnal Green and other museums, we might perhaps hope for a succession of such favours. Nevertheless, for the bulk of our exhibits we must look to gift or purchase. Fortunately we already possess the admirable nucleus of such a collection as I have described in this place. Who can doubt that the fine marble statue of Warren Hastings by Westmacott, which is now effectually concealed from public view in the southern portico of

the Town Hall—a building which is itself condemned—must find its way to the Victoria Hall? The same may be said of Bacon's great marble figure of Lord Cornwallis on the ground floor of the same building, a masterpiece that is now strangely out of place amid dusty records and scribbling clerks. If the Town Hall be, as alleged, condemned, there are other portraits and busts that might very well be transferred to the new building. There are the pictures of Her Majesty Queen Victoria herself and the Prince Consort, which I believe that she presented to the Town of Calcutta. There are portraits of Lords Clive and Lake now hanging on dark corners of the staircase, of Dr. Duff, and Dwarkanath Tagore. There are busts of James Prinsep and the Duke of Wellington. In the High Court are two pictures of Sir Elijah Impey, one by Kettle, the other by Zoffany. Perhaps the learned Judges might spare us one. The Asiatic Society, whom I am addressing to-night, in their plethora of treasures, possess no less than one bust and three pictures of their founder, Sir William Jones. They might like to diffuse his fame. Similarly, they own portraits of four Governors-General, Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Wellesley, and Lord Minto, which are now only seen by a few score of persons, and which they might be willing to place on loan for the edification of a larger public.

I may next turn to the building in which I am now speaking, and which was originally erected with very much the same object, namely, a National Valhalla, as the new hall which we are about to raise. I do not think that any one will claim that it has quite succeeded in vindicating its initial claim. Lord Dalhousie's statue, which I see opposite me, originally belonged to Government House, and was surrendered by Sir John Lawrence to this building, after its completion in 1866. Separate funds were raised for the commemoration of Havelock and Nicholson, and resulted in the busts of those two great men that we see before us. Chantrey's beautiful statue of Lord Hastings, which stands in the entrance by which we all came in, has nothing to do with this building at all, for the portico in which it was placed was raised in Lord Amherst's time to hold the statue, and the Dalhousie Institute was subsequently tacked on

behind it. It will, I think, be generally conceded that all these memorials will find a more appropriate and a more worthy home in the Victoria Hall. I may carry the same line of argument and illustration further. We have three busts of Sir T. Metcalfe in the Metcalfe Hall. Having bought the place for Government, I shall be very glad to hand over one of them to the Victoria Hall. Metcalfe, the founder of a Free Press in India, ought to be commemorated there. Perhaps, too, we may appeal for some friendly assistance to the Bar Library. There, I believe, are to be found, unless they have already perished, fourteen volumes of the manuscript notes of cases in the handwriting of Mr. Justice Hyde. There is his transcript of the evidence of Warren Hastings and Barwell at the trial of Nuncomar, and his entry of the order for the execution of that ill-fated person. I believe that there is also in the High Court the original bond given by Bolagi Das to Nuncomar, which was pronounced a forgery at the trial. Speaking of Warren Hastings, I have been told that some years ago, and I dare say still, unless they have been devoured by white ants, there were contained in the Collector's Office at Chittagong, of all places in the world, quite a number of official documents in the writing of that great man and bearing his signature, with those of Francis, Barwell, Clavering, and Monson. Similar documents are, I doubt not, to be found, in the *almirahs* or cupboards of many a district officer throughout the country, and could, with a little search, be recovered from an oblivion which in a climate such as this is sooner or later synonymous with total destruction. I noticed a short time ago a cry of pain from a Madras paper at the idea that I might be going to indent upon Madras for the letters of Sir Thomas Munro. Well, and how does Madras show its reverence for that most interesting correspondence? By allowing it to repose in a dingy cupboard in the Collector's Office at Salem. I have no desire to rob any place, or any society, or any individual, of that which may be dear to them. But I submit that we should at least treat Sir Thomas Munro better, for it would be difficult to treat him worse, than his own Presidency has done.

I have said enough, I think, to indicate that in this

country, in record-rooms, in offices, and in cutcherries, will be found a plentiful mine of documentary richness. From the Imperial Library, and from the Foreign Office here, we may be able to make a substantial contribution. Appeals in the newspapers will doubtless bring to our knowledge the existence of many objects at present lost to the public view. In England I should make similar appeals. The India Office might be willing to restore to us some of the objects belonging to the old East India Company which are in their possession, or to present us with copies or duplicates. I would myself undertake to write to the families, or descendants, or living representatives of the remarkable men whom we may desire to commemorate. Learned Societies might be willing to contribute something to us from their abundance. Finally, there is perpetually passing through the hands of the London dealers and auctioneers a stream of interesting memorials of the Anglo-Indian past, which attract no notice, because they do not belong to celebrated collections, or because their owners are not known to fame, but upon which a careful watch might be kept by experts appointed for the purpose. I entertain no shadow of a doubt that, within ten years of the date upon which the doors of the Victoria Hall are opened, there will, unless there be some grave and inexplicable relapse in public interest or in competent supervision in the interim, be collected therein an exhibition that will be the pride of all India, and that will attract visitors to this place from all parts of the world. I should add that, if sufficient means are forthcoming, I would certainly propose adequately to endow the building, so that a sum may be annually available for adding to the contents, and maintaining them at a high standard of excellence.

I have now, I trust, said enough to show both what the Victoria Hall will be, and what it will not be. It will not be a museum of antiquities, filled with undeciphered inscriptions and bronze idols and crumbling stones. It will not be an industrial museum, stocked with samples of grains, and timbers, and manufactures. It will not be an art museum, crowded with metal-ware of every description, with muslins, and kinkobs, and silks, with pottery, and lacquer-

ware, and Kashmir shawls. It will not be a geological, or ethnographical, or anthropological, or architectural museum. All these objects are served by existing institutions ; and I do not want to compete with or to denude any such fabric. The central idea of the Victoria Hall is that it should be a Historical Museum, a National Gallery, and that alone, and that it should exist, not for the advertisement of the present, but for the commemoration of that which is honourable and glorious in the past. Neither is it proposed to constitute the Victoria Hall, even while retaining its character as a Historical Gallery, a museum representative of all countries. We could not possibly collect the materials : many of them would not survive the Indian climate, and the result would be an indescribable medley, which would merely confuse instead of informing and stimulating the senses. It is, I think, essential that the art, the science, the literature, the history, the men, the events which are therein commemorated must be those of India, and of Great Britain in India, alone. That is the whole pith and marrow of the idea, and I venture to think that it would be most unwise to depart from it.

I must remove another misconception. Inquiries have been addressed to me as to whether there might not be incorporated with this building a magnificent Imperial Library, where there should be collected all the notable works, in whatever language, that have been written about India, or that have been composed in the Indian vernaculars. The authors of these inquiries are perhaps unaware that I have already provided for this object. For nearly two years negotiations have been proceeding for the acquisition of the Metcalfe Hall and its library by the Government. They are now on the verge of a happy termination. We propose to renovate and redecorate that handsome building ; to transfer to it the whole of the Imperial Library at present deposited in the Home Department of the Government of India ; and to present it with an endowment sufficient to enable it, within no very lengthy space of time, to become a really representative collection of the literature that I have mentioned. We have obtained, through the good offices of the Home Government, the services of a most competent

Librarian from the British Museum, and I hope, before I leave India, to have converted the Metcalfe Hall into a miniature edition of the Library and Reading Room in that great institution, a place which shall be the haven of Indian and Anglo-Indian scholars, and the nursery of writers and students.¹ There is obviously, therefore, no need for adding a Library to the Victoria Hall.

There is, however, one feature that might, I think, not improperly be included in the building. Like most structures of a similar character in Europe, it should probably possess a really fine hall, distinct from the hall that is especially dedicated to the Queen. Such a hall might be used for the Chapters of the Indian Orders, for a great durbar, or for any other ceremonial function. An organ might be placed at one end for concerts and choral performances. Upon occasions it might supply a meeting-ground for the public, much in the same way as the Banqueting Hall is used at Madras. As time passes on, benefactors might adorn this Hall with pictures or frescoes, and with the statues of princes and great men. I may add that in the future I hope that the leading Chiefs may be seen at Calcutta more frequently than in the past. I have for some time been in negotiation for the purchase of Hastings House, the old country residence of Warren Hastings, at Alipore; and if this transaction be satisfactorily concluded, I propose to utilise the house, which is a fine building, quite apart from its historical associations, for the occasional entertainment of the Princes, who are always so lavish in their hospitality to the Viceroy, as the guests of the Government of India in Calcutta.²

A few details only remain to be noticed. It is too early as yet to speak about the style of a building, when the money has not yet been subscribed with which it is to be raised. That will have to be settled, as will most of the other points that I have raised, by a representative Com-

¹ The work was completed in 1902, and the new Imperial Library was opened by the Viceroy on January 30, 1903.

² The purchase was concluded, and a number of Indian Princes and illustrious guests (such as the Prime Minister of Nepal, the Heir-Apparent of Afghanistan, and the Tashi Lama of Tibet) were subsequently entertained as State guests in the renovated Hastings House.

mittee later on. There will probably, however, be general agreement that it should be built of the best and most solid material, white marble for choice, and that it must be so constructed as to resist the deteriorating influences of a tropical climate. There must be unity of design in the plan, but scope must be left for later generations to add to the original structure should the occasion arise. It has already been announced that it is proposed to inscribe, in a prominent place in the building, the names of all subscribers of half a lakh and upwards. When the collection has been made, cheap but full guide-books will be prepared both in English and in the vernacular, so as to tell the visitor where to go, and what it is that he is about to see. Finally, the surrounding space will be converted into a beautiful garden, which, with due regard to the flowerbeds and lawns, should be accessible to all, and will be a joy and delight to the town.

Such is the scheme of the Victoria Hall, as it presents itself to me, assisted by the able advice of the numerous authorities and scholars whom I have consulted. I hope to have shown you that it will not be a merely sentimental creation, but that it will have a most utilitarian aspect as well. There is no more practical or business-like emotion than patriotism. I believe that this building will give to all who enter it, whether English or Indians, a pride in their country, in addition to reminding them of the veneration that all alike entertain for the great Sovereign in whose honour it was built. I believe that it will teach more history and better history than a studyful of books. I believe that it will appeal to the poor people just as directly as to the rich; and that they will wander, wondering perhaps, but interested and receptive, through its halls. Lastly, I believe that it will do much to bind together the two races whom Providence, for its mysterious ends, has associated in the administration of this great Empire, and whose fusion has been so immeasurably enhanced by the example, the wisdom, and the influence of Queen Victoria.

TEMPERANCE

ARMY TEMPERANCE ASSOCIATION, SIMLA

A MEETING of the Army Temperance Association was held at Simla on June 6, 1901. The Viceroy presided, and thus addressed the meeting :—

I am glad to see so many officers and soldiers present here to-day, because, after all, the subject on which I am about to speak is one connected exclusively with the Army. At the same time, I am glad to see such a large attendance of the outside public, both because it shows an interest in the Army, and also because Temperance is a matter in which, independently of the particular profession to which we belong, we all of us ought to feel an interest. I propose to address this audience in as plain and simple language as I can command. There may be some, perhaps, who will say that I have no right to address you at all. In the first place, I am a civilian speaking to soldiers who may be supposed to know their own business much better than any outsider can teach them. Secondly, I am a non-abstainer speaking on behalf of a society whose main principle is that of total abstinence. And yet, on both points, I think that I have a good answer to give. Under the law which regulates the Government of this country, the supreme authority over the Army in India is vested in the Governor-General in Council ; and the Governor-General in Council is, as you know, the rather imposing name that is given to a small number of distinguished gentlemen, over whose proceedings and deliberations, I, as Viceroy, have the honour to preside. I conceive, therefore, that there is no one, except perhaps the Commander-in-Chief, who has a greater right to be

interested in the reputation and honour of the Army—and believe me, its reputation is bound up in its sobriety—than the head of the Government. Everything that concerns its moral character, its discipline, and that which is the result of these two, namely, its efficiency, must be a vital interest to those who are connected with the administration of this great country; and I would not give much for a Viceroy who, because he was not a soldier himself, therefore dismissed the Army, or the welfare of the Army, as beneath his concern.

On the second point, as to whether a non-abstainer has any right to advocate temperance, I have even less hesitation in pronouncing. Temperance, in the strict meaning of the term, he is the very man best qualified to advocate, since he is only preaching what he endeavours to practise. But where then, you may say, does total abstinence come in, and how can he get up and speak on behalf of a society which urges its members to take the pledge? Well, I think that I can answer that too. Why does the Army Temperance Association urge its members, or, at any rate, the bulk of its members, to sign the pledge of total abstinence? It is because it knows very well that for the class of man to whom it appeals total abstinence is the only road, or, at any rate, the shortest and straightest road, to temperance. This is true of the young soldier fresh out from home, ignorant of the life and the temptations of this country, whom the Association endeavours to capture before he has yielded to pernicious example, and has gone astray. It is true of the confirmed toper who can only be converted to sobriety by a violent physical and moral wrench. It is useless to take the drunkard and ask him to go back by easy stages of moderate drinking to self-discipline and self-control. He is powerless to do it. A man cannot suddenly begin to do in moderation that which he is accustomed to do in excess. If he is to be wrested from his bad habits, it can only be by a determination to put the evil thing from him, not, so to speak, in pints or in driblets, but altogether. That is why the pledge is a necessary thing for him. And, thirdly, there is the man of high character, himself either free from temptation or having conquered it, who feels that

he can better set an example to his comrades by taking the pledge himself. For all these classes total abstinence is the best, and for some the only available prescription ; and so it is that a man who does not practise it himself, because in the conditions of his life he has not found the need, may yet with perfect consistency stand up and plead its cause to his fellow-countrymen.

Before I turn to the question of drinking in the Army, I should like to say one word about the position of the British soldier in India. I daresay that there are some soldiers who think that the conditions of their life are imperfectly understood by civilians, and that insufficient allowance is made for their circumstances and surroundings. I do not think that this is at all widely the case. I realise as fully as it is possible to do that the British soldier does not always have a good time of it in this country. He is in a climate very different from that to which he is accustomed, and, in the plains in summer, exceedingly trying. He is often in a very confined locality. He has not the fun, and games, and amusements, and society, to which he is accustomed at home. There is apt to be a good deal of monotony about his life. He lives perhaps in stuffy and ill-lighted barracks, where on the hot nights he can scarcely get a breath of air. If he leaves the lines there is nothing but the native bazar with its low temptations to attract him. I make, and I think that we should all make, full allowance for these conditions. They are partly responsible for the drinking and the other wrong deeds that occur. For my own part, I would like to alleviate them to the best of my power. There is no subject in which I have taken greater interest, since I have been in India, than in that of the improved ventilation and lighting of barracks. I have insisted on forcing it to the front, and in causing all sorts of experiments to be made. Sir Edwin Collen was strongly with me on the matter ; and so, I have reason to know, are the present Military Member and the Commander-in-Chief. I look forward to the time, and am doing my best to hurry it on, when every barrack in India shall be lighted by electricity, and when the punkahs shall be pulled by the same motive power ; and I believe that if this scheme were

to cost half a crore of rupees or more, it would be money well laid out, in the improved health and contentment of the men, and in the diminution of one of the most frequent causes of collision between soldiers and natives.¹ It is from exactly the same point of view that I welcome the institution of the rooms and of the work of the Army Temperance Association. I have seen them at Deolali—where I must say they were so attractive as almost to tempt me to regret that I am not a soldier myself—and I have also seen them at other places on my tours. But I would like to see them made even brighter and more attractive than they are. I would like to wean men away from the perilous attractions of the canteen, with its flow of conversation, and jollity, and drink, all leading to excitement, and apt to culminate in excess, by providing them with something which is just as good for their appetites, much better for their morals, and incomparably superior for their health. I hope, therefore, to have shown you that the powers that be in India, to use a familiar phrase, do not turn a blind eye upon the British soldier in this country, but that they have his interest and welfare at heart.

Temperance or intemperance in the British Army—at whichever side of the shield you like to look—has passed through many phases. We remember the stories of the soldiers with whom the Duke of Wellington fought many of his great battles. There was not much temperance or sobriety among them. They were drawn from a low class of the population, and in those days the extraordinary and grotesque illusion prevailed—to which all subsequent experience has given the lie—that the hardest drinker was also the best fighting man. The Duke of Wellington as good as said so on many occasions, and he was always alternating between respect for the bravery of the men who won his battles and disgust at their vices. We have long ago got away from all that; and you have not had a single Commander of recent times who would not tell you that the hard-drinking soldier is not merely a moral disgrace, but a military danger. Read what Lord Roberts said about

¹ This policy has been accepted by the Government of India, and is being steadily carried into execution.

our men in South Africa. They were sober there by compulsion, perhaps, as well as by choice, for the drink was not to be had ; and they comported themselves like heroes and gentlemen. It was only when they got back that Lord Roberts feared they would fall below the high standard that they had observed in the field, because of the temptations to drink that were pressed upon them at home. Accordingly, we have passed, as I say, into a phase of life in which every one admits that the sober soldier is a better man than the intoxicated soldier, the moderate drinker than the hard-drinker, and I daresay the total abstainer the best of all. No one will deny that. But we cannot stop there. We have only got so far to an abstract admission ; we must translate it into concrete fact. It is not the slightest use for any of us to indulge in these platonic aphorisms, and then to think that our work is over. It is no good for the speakers on this platform to say how much better the British Army is nowadays than it was in the days of Talavera or Waterloo, and to think that this is an end of the whole business, and that nothing more need be done. It is no good either for the soldiers from Jutogh or anywhere else to applaud the excellent sentiments to which we all treat them, and then to walk back and drown it all in a too liberal participation in the joys of the regimental canteen.

No, we have to face facts and not to delude ourselves either with sentiment or with figures ; for if there is one thing that is sometimes capable of being even more fallacious than sentiment, it is figures. Therefore I decline to say that all is well, because at an earlier period of our history it was worse ; and I refrain from quoting the statistics of crime, or the returns of the orderly room, lest I should be lulled into thinking that because they illustrate the growing advance of temperance, therefore the battle has been won. That is not the case. The crime returns are neither the sole test nor an infallible test, and the Commanding Officer who thinks that because he can show a clean sheet in this respect, there is no excessive drinking going on in his regiment, is often living in a fool's paradise. Let us recognise, and let this Society recognise, that, even if crimes resulting from drink diminish, as I hope and believe that they do, there are still far too

many ; that, if cases of "drunk and disorderly" are fewer, they ought to be fewer still ; and that there are in every regiment a large number, too large a number, of men who take more than they should, who habitually drink hard, even if they are not convicted of intoxication, and who are constantly on the brink of excess, even if they do not actually step over it.

I had some official figures given me the other day, which showed that in one British regiment in India, in the month of April last, where the total number of men, exclusive of patients in hospitals and members of this Association, was 380, the amount of beer consumed was nearly 130 hogsheads. Now this meant an average daily consumption of $2\frac{3}{4}$ quarts for every man ; and when you remember that among the 380 must have been several men who only drank in moderation, you will see that there must have been a certain number in the regiment who drank much more than was good for them. These are the men, therefore, that this Association ought to try and get within its mesh. We want to stop not merely gross excess, leading to crime, but steady drinking, leading to disordered faculties, and physical and moral decline. I believe that if every Commanding Officer in India were told that he himself would be judged by the sobriety of his regiment, and that a flourishing canteen fund would be looked upon as a mark of a bad Colonel, it would be a most excellent thing ; and I respectfully present this suggestion, for what it is worth, to the Commander-in-Chief.

There is only one other point of view from which I desire to plead the cause of the Association, and to appeal to the officers and soldiers of the British Army in India. It is a wider, and, in my opinion, a higher standpoint. What, I would ask, are we all here for—every one of us, from the Viceroy at the head of the official hierarchy to the latest joined British private in barracks ? We are not here to draw our pay, and do nothing, and have a good time. We are not here merely to wave the British flag. We are here because Providence has, before all the world, laid a solemn duty upon our shoulders ; and that duty is to hold this country by justice, and righteousness, and good-will, and

to set an example to its people. You may say why should we set an example, and what example have we to set? Well, I daresay that we have much to learn as well as to teach. It would be arrogant to pretend the contrary. I feel myself that never a day of my life passes in India in which I do not absorb more than I can possibly give out. But we have come here with a civilisation, an education, and a morality which we are vain enough, without disparagement to others, to think the best that have ever been seen; and we have been placed, by the Power that ordains all, in the seats of the mighty, with the fortunes and the future of this great continent in our hands. There never was such a responsibility. In the whole world there is no such duty. That is why it behoves every one of us, great or small, who belong to the British race in this country, to set an example. The man who sets a bad example is untrue to his own country. The man who sets a good one is doing his duty by this. But how can the drunkard set an example, and what is the example that he sets? And what sort of example too is set by the officer who winks at drunkenness instead of treading it under foot? It is no answer to me to say that the native sometimes gets intoxicated in his way just as the British soldier does in his. One man's sin is not another man's excuse. Where are our boasted civilisation and our superior ethics if we cannot see that what is degrading in him is more degrading in us? If we are to measure our own responsibility by that of the millions whom we rule, what becomes of our right to rule and our mission? It is, therefore, officers and soldiers, not on mere grounds of abstract virtue, nor for the sake of the discipline and the reputation of the Army, nor even for your own individual good alone, that I have stood here this afternoon to plead the cause of temperance in the ranks; but because the British name in India is in your hands just as much as it is in mine, and because it rests with you, before God and your fellow-men, to preserve it from sully or reproach.

VALEDICTORY

DINNER GIVEN BY UNITED SERVICE CLUB, SIMLA

ON September 30, 1905, the members of the United Service Club, Simla, entertained the Viceroy at a farewell dinner. The audience comprised the largest and most representative collection of Civil and Military Officers which had ever gathered together in the Club. In response to the toast of his health proposed by Mr. Hewett, President of the Club, Lord Curzon spoke as follows:—

I desire to thank the members of this Club for the distinguished compliment that they have paid to me in inviting me to be their guest at this dinner to-night, and also for the large and, as I believe, unexampled numbers that have collected within this room to do me honour. I have listened with much gratitude, though not without a good deal of compunction, to the kind remarks that have fallen from the lips of the Chairman, Mr. Hewett. I feel it is my good fortune that the task of proposing my health on this parting occasion should have fallen to his hands. For in one capacity or another Mr. Hewett has been one of my foremost colleagues during the last seven years, and if he can speak, as he has done, of that which has been attempted and in part accomplished, the compliment is all the greater because of the man who utters it. There was one remark in Mr. Hewett's speech by which I could not fail to be personally touched, and that was the sentence in which he spoke of Lady Curzon as my comrade. It is true that, in the arduous and, as he remarked, isolated position which the Viceroy of India is compelled to occupy, he is sustained by the solace of those who are nearest and dearest to him. In this way my work has been lightened by the influences

that have always been at my side. The part which India fills in the memory and affections of Lady Curzon is not inferior to that which she occupies in my own; and when we have left this country my heart will not alone be left behind, but a considerable portion of hers will be here also.

I do not stand here to-night to discuss controversial topics. They will work out to their appointed issue by processes which we cannot discern—or at any rate cannot at present discern. History will write its verdict upon them with unerring pen, and we need not to-night anticipate the sentence. I stand here rather as one who has laboured and wrought amongst you to the best of his ability through these long and stirring years, and who rises for the last time to address the comrades who have shared his toil, and, if he has anywhere conquered, have enabled him to conquer. I cannot approach such a task without emotion, and I cannot feel sure of being able to discharge it with credit.

Mr. Hewett, as I have said, referred to the position of peculiar isolation in which the Viceroy stands. I prefer rather in what I have to say to-night to turn my attention to those aspects of his work which bring him into contact with others. The relation of the Viceroy to the Services in India is one of a peculiar and unexampled description. He is over them, but not of them. He is not attached to them, as a party politician in England is to his party, by the ties of long fellow-service in a common cause. His link with them is one of official rank, not of personal identity, and it is limited to a few years at the most, instead of being spread over a lifetime. He is almost invariably, from the nature of the case, a stranger brought out from England, and placed for a short time in supreme charge. I have always thought it a remarkable thing in these circumstances, and a proof of the loyalty and devotion to duty which is the instinct of Englishmen—that the Indian services should extend to the Viceroy the fidelity and the support which they do.

In my own case my feeling for the Indian Services was formed and was stated many years before I came to this country as Viceroy, and I cannot be suspected therefore of any afterthought in declaring it now. When I brought out my book about Persia more than thirteen years ago—having

written it in the main in the interests of Indian defence—I dedicated it to the Civil and Military Services in India, and on the title-page I spoke about them in language which represented my profound conviction then, and represents it still. You may imagine, therefore, with what pride I found myself placed at the head of those Services seven years ago, and given the opportunity of co-operating for great ends with such strenuous and expert allies. It will always, I think, remain the greatest recollection of my public life that for this not inconsiderable period I was permitted to preside over the most efficient and the most high-minded public service which I believe to exist in the world.

Our official generations in India move so quickly, particularly in the higher ranks, that a Viceroy who has been here for seven years ends by finding himself the *doyen* of the official hierarchy, and feels that he is old almost before he has ceased to be young. Such has been my own experience. Though the Viceroy has only six colleagues in his Cabinet or Council, lately raised to seven, the normal duration of whose office is five years, I have served with no fewer than twenty councillors in my time. In the ten local Governments I have co-operated with nearly thirty Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners. Perhaps, therefore, I may claim an exceptional right to speak. It does indeed seem to me a remarkable thing that work pursued under the conditions of pressure which have characterised our recent activities, and with responsible agents so varied, so important, and so numerous, should have been carried on with so much smoothness and good feeling, and, if I may speak for the treatment which I have personally received, with such generous consideration and warmth of personal regard. I venture to assert, not as a boast or as a compliment, but as a fact, that there has never been a time when the relations between the Supreme Government and the heads of the local Governments have been so free from friction or so harmonious. In old volumes of our Proceedings, which it has been my duty to study at midnight hours, I have sometimes come across peppery letters or indignant remonstrances, and have seen the spectacle of infuriated proconsuls strutting up and down the

stage. We now live, not in the Iron or Stone Age, when implements of this description were at any rate figuratively in constant use, but in the age of Milk and Honey, when we all sit down together to devour the grapes of Eshcol, by which I mean the surpluses that are provided for us by the Finance Department. Even that department has ceased to be a nightmare to the good as well as a terror to the evil, and has assumed an urbanity in harmony with the spirit of the time. No doubt these results are partially due, as I have hinted, to the more prosperous circumstances through which we have been passing, and to the greater devolution of financial responsibility upon local Governments that we have carried out. But they also reflect a positive desire on our part to be everywhere on the best of terms with the local Governments and their heads, and to avoid nagging interference and petty overruling; and they have everywhere been met by loyalty and a friendly co-operation on their part which I should like to take this opportunity to acknowledge, and which have made the relations between the Viceroy and the Governors and the Lieutenant-Governors with whom he has served one of the most agreeable episodes of my term of office.

I am not one of those who hold the view that local Governments are hampered in their administration by excessive centralisation, or that any great measures of devolution would produce better results. In so far as there has been centralisation in the past it has been in the main because, under the quinquennial contract system, the local Government had not the means with which to extend themselves, and there cannot be much autonomy where there are not financial resources. Now that we have substituted permanent agreements for the terminable financial agreements, and have placed the local Governments in funds, they can proceed with internal development with as much freedom as can be desired. I am not in favour of removing altogether or even of slackening the central control; for I believe that with due allowance for the astonishing diversity of local conditions, it is essential that there should be certain uniform principles running through our entire administration, and that nothing could be worse either for India or for British dominion in

India than that the country should be split up into a number of separate and rival units, very much like the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Europe, where the independent factors are only held together by the nexus of a single crown. The various inquiries that have been conducted into administration in my time, notably into Education, Famine, Irrigation, and Police, have shown how easy it is for central principles to be forgotten, and for indifference at headquarters to breed apathy and want of system lower down. I believe, therefore, in a strong Government of India gathering into its own hand and controlling all the reins. But I would ride local Governments on the snaffle, and not on the curb ; and I would do all in our power to consult their feelings, to enhance their dignity, and to stimulate their sense of responsibility and power. The head of a local Administration in India possesses great initiative and an authority which is scarcely understood out of India. Sometimes in the past these prerogatives have been used to develop dissension, and the Supreme Government has, as I am told, scarcely been on speaking terms with some of its principal lieutenants. I have been lucky in escaping all such experiences ; and every Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner whom I have known has exerted himself with equal loyalty to conform to the general policy rather than to pursue his own.

This, however, is rather a digression into which I have wandered, and I must get back to my subject at the point at which I left it. Even more than with the heads of local Governments have I necessarily been brought into contact with my own colleagues in the Government of India. I speak primarily of the Members of Council, and secondarily of the Secretaries to Government. Never let it be forgotten that the Government of India is governed, not by an individual, but by a Committee. No important act can be taken without the assent of a majority of that Committee. In practice this cuts both ways. It is the tendency in India as elsewhere, but much more in India than anywhere else that I have known, to identify the acts of Government with the head of the administration. The Viceroy is constantly spoken of as though he and he alone were the Government. This is, of course, unjust to his colleagues, who are equally

responsible with himself, and very often deserve the credit which he unfairly obtains. On the other hand, it is sometimes unfair to him; for he may have to bear the entire responsibility for administrative acts or policies which were participated in and perhaps originated by them. In these rather difficult circumstances, which perhaps work out on the whole in a fair equation, it is a consolation to me to reflect—and this is the only Cabinet secret that I am going to divulge—that during my seven years of office there has not been a single important question, whether of internal or external politics, in which the Government of India have not been absolutely unanimous, unless you except the last of all, where the unanimity was scarcely broken. I believe this to be unexampled in the history of Indian administration. In the previous records of Indian Government I have often come across sparring matches between the illustrious combatants, and contentious Minutes used to be fired off like grape-shot at the head of the Secretary of State. I can only recall three occasions in which a Minute dissenting from the decision of the majority of the Council has been sent home in the whole of my time. I venture to think that with a Council representing so many different interests and points of view, this indicates a very remarkable and gratifying unity. Certainly it has not been purchased by any sacrifice of independent judgment. The Viceroy has no more weight in his Council than any individual member of it. What it does show is that the Government of India, in approaching the work of reconstruction and reform with which we have charged ourselves, has been inspired by a single spirit, and has pursued a common aim. I recall with pride that in every considerable undertaking we have been an absolutely united body, united not merely in identity of opinion, but in a common enthusiasm; and on this parting occasion it may be permissible for me to say, both of the distinguished civilians and the eminent soldiers with whom it has been my privilege to serve, that I thank them with a gratitude which it would be impossible to exaggerate, for a co-operation that has converted the years of toil into years of honourable pleasure, and that will always remain one of the happiest recollections of my life.

Then I turn to the Secretaries to Government, those faithful and monumental workers who dig in the mounds of the past and excavate the wisdom of our ancestors, who prepare our cases for us and write our official letters and despatches, and generally keep us all from going wrong. I have served with many Secretaries to Governments in my time, and I do not believe that in any administration in the world is the standard of trained intelligence or devotion to duty in the rank and class of service which they represent so uniformly high. My consolation in thinking of them is that a better reward than my poor thanks lies before them. As they gradually blossom into Chief-Commissioners and Lieutenant-Governors and Members of Council they will earn the fuller recognition to which they are entitled, and in my retirement I shall for years to come have the pleasure of seeing the higher posts of Indian administration filled by men with whom I have been privileged to work, and of whose capacity for the most responsible office I have had such abundant opportunity to convince myself. Some paper at home said the other day that I had not founded a school. There was no need to do that, for it was here already. But I have assisted to train one, and if the tests have sometimes been rather exacting, I may perhaps say in self-defence that I have never imposed upon others a burden which I was not willing to accept myself.

What I have said of Members and Secretaries is not less true of the officers who have served under them in the Departments of Government. When I came to Simla I observed that I regarded this place as the workshop of the administration, and such indeed during the last few years I believe that it has truly been. It was Burke who remarked in one of his speeches that there is one sight that is never seen in India, and that is the grey head of an Englishman. As I look about me I begin to think that we must live in a rather different and degenerate age, and I am not sure that a certain guilty consciousness does not steal over my mind. I must confess that I have heard it whispered that Simla has acquired in recent times an unenviable reputation for staidness and sobriety, and I believe that invidious epithets have even been applied to the hospitable and once light-hearted

institution in which I am now privileged to be entertained. Must I offer an apology for this alleged falling off from the standards of the past? No, I do nothing of the sort. I do not allow for a moment that we have pursued duty at the cost of the amenities of life. I most certainly have not done so. We have all had our hours of gaiety and ease at Simla, and very pleasant they have been. But we have certainly set work before play; we have spent more time in school than out of it; and for my own part I believe that an incalculable benefit has been conferred upon the entire service by the example of those public servants who used to be accused of idling away their time in the hills, but who now made up for the refreshing altitude at which they labour by the arduous and unremitting character of the labour itself. We have finally killed the fallacy, perhaps never true at all, and certainly least of all true now, that the summer capital of Government is a place where it is all summer and not much government; and if a Royal Commission were sent round to investigate the factories of the Empire, I should await with perfect equanimity the place that Simla would occupy in its report.

There is one error against which I think that we ought very particularly to be on our guard. I should not like any of us, because we happen to be at the headquarters of Government, to delude ourselves into thinking that we are the only people or even the principal people who run the Indian machine. It would be quite untrue. India may be governed from Simla or Calcutta; but it is administered from the plains. We may issue the orders and correct the mistakes; but the rank and file of the Army are elsewhere, and if we make the plans of battle, they fight them. Let me not forfeit this opportunity of expressing my feelings towards the entire Civil Service of India for the loyal co-operation that I have received from them. At the beginning I believe that they thought me rather a disturbing element in the economy of Indian official existence. But when they saw that my interests were their interests and theirs mine—because there is no one who is so much benefited by increased efficiency in administration as the administrator himself—they gave me every assistance

in their power ; and no one is more sincerely conscious than myself that if success has anywhere been obtained it has not been in the Secretariat alone but in the District Office, in the Court, and I would even add in the fields. What is the secret of success in the Indian services, civil and military alike ? It lies, not in systems or rules, not even exclusively in training or education. It consists in the man. If revenue assessments are to be fair and equitable to the people, it will not be because of the Resolutions which the Government of India have issued to regulate them, but because a sympathetic Settlement Officer has been sent to carry them out. If one division or district is discontented and another tranquil, it will usually be because one has the wrong man at the head and the other the right one. If one young Chief degenerates into extravagance or dissipation, while another develops into a statesman and a ruler of men, it will probably be found that the former has had a weak Political Officer or an incompetent tutor, while the other has been in strong and capable hands. If one regiment is efficient, while another is soft or has a bad record, look to the Commanding Officer, and you will commonly find the clue. Therefore I say in India, as elsewhere, but most of all in India,—Give me the man, the best that England can produce, the best that India can train. To every head of an Indian Administration, to every chief of an office, I would say,—Pick out the best men ; run them to the front ; give them their chance. That is the whole secret of administration. I have said a hundred times, and I say it again, that there is no service in the world where ability and character—and character quite as much as ability—are more sure of their reward than the Indian service. Nothing can keep them down, for they are the pivot and fulcrum of our rule. So long as we can continue to send to this country the pick of the youth of our own, so long as they are inspired by high standards of life and conduct, so long as each officer, civil or military, regards himself in his own sphere as the local custodian of British honour and the local representative of the British name, we are safe and India is safe also. For the good man makes other men good, the efficient officer spreads efficiency

about him, and the sympathetic officer diffuses an atmosphere of loyalty and contentment.

Perhaps I may be allowed to interpolate a word in this place about the particular branch of the service of which I have been more especially the head—I allude to the Political Department. The Viceroy, as taking the Foreign Office under his personal charge, has a greater responsibility for the officers of that Department than of any other. A good Political is a type of officer difficult to train. Indeed training by itself will never produce him. For there are required in addition qualities of tact and flexibility, of moral fibre and gentlemanly bearing, which are an instinct rather than an acquisition. The public at large hardly realises what the Political may be called upon to do. At one moment he may be grinding in the Foreign Office, at another he may be required to stiffen the administration of a backward Native State, at a third he may be presiding over a *jirga* of unruly tribesmen on the frontier, at a fourth he may be demarcating a boundary amid the wilds of Tibet or the sands of Seistan. There is no more varied or responsible service in the world than the Political Department of the Government of India; and right well have I been served in it, from the mature and experienced officer who handles a Native Chief with velvet glove, to the young military political who packs up his trunk at a moment's notice and goes off to Arabia or Kurdistan. I commend the Political Department of the Government of India to all who like to know the splendid and varied work of which Englishmen are capable; and I hope that the time may never arise when it will cease to draw to itself the best abilities and the finest characters that the services in India can produce.

I have been speaking so far of the agents with whom I have been permitted to work. Let me add, if I may, a few words about the work itself. If I were asked to sum it up in a single word, I would say "Efficiency." That has been our gospel, the keynote of our administration. I remember once reading in a native newspaper which was attacking me very bitterly the sentence—"As for Lord Curzon, he cares for nothing but efficiency." Exactly, but I hardly think

that when I am gone this is an epitaph of which I need feel greatly ashamed. There were three respects in which a short experience taught me that a higher level of efficiency under our administration was demanded. The first was in the despatch of business. Our methods were very dignified, our procedure very elaborate and highly organised, but the pace was apt to be the reverse of speedy. I remember in my first year settling a case that had been pursuing the even tenor of its way without, as far as I could ascertain, exciting the surprise or ruffling the temper of an individual for sixty-one years. I drove my pen like a stiletto into its bosom. I buried it with exultation, and I almost danced upon the grave. I really think that not merely the new rules that we have adopted, but the new principles that are at work, have done a great deal to assist the despatch of business : and I hope that there may not be any backsliding or relapse in the future. It was one of John Lawrence's sayings that procrastination is the thief of efficiency as well as of time : and though I would not say that an administration is good in proportion to its pace, I would certainly say that it cannot be good if it is habitually and needlessly slow.

Our second object was the overhauling of our existing machinery, which had got rusty and had run down. There is scarcely a department of the Government or a branch of the service which we have not during the last few years explored from top to bottom, improving the conditions of service where they were obsolete or inadequate, formulating a definite programme of policy or action, and endeavouring to raise the standard and the tone. And, thirdly, we had to provide new machinery to enable India to grapple with new needs. Perhaps there is nothing which the public has shown so general an inability to understand as the fact that a new world of industry and enterprise and social and economic advance is dawning upon India. New continents and islands leap above the horizon as they did before the navigators of the Elizabethan age. But if I am right, if agriculture and irrigation and commerce and industry have great and unknown futures before them, then Government, which in this country is nearly everything,

must be ready with the appliances to enable it to shape and to direct these new forms of expansion. You cannot administer India according to modern standards, but on the old lines. Some people talk as though, when we create new departments and posts, we are merely adding to the burden of Government. No, we are doing nothing of the sort. The burden of Government is being added to by tendencies and forces outside of ourselves which we are powerless to resist, but not powerless to control. We are merely providing the mechanism to cope with it. Of course we must not be blind to the consideration that progress is not a mere matter of machinery alone—and that life and the organisation of life are very different things. There is always a danger of converting an efficient staff into a bureaucracy, and, while perfecting the instruments, of ignoring the free play of natural forces. Against that tendency I would implore all those who are engaged in work in India to be peculiarly on their guard. For it may be said of reforms everywhere, and here perhaps most of all, that that which is contrary to nature is doomed to perish, and that which is organic will alone survive.

I am afraid, however, that I am becoming too philosophic for the dinner table. I will revert to the concrete. Of the actual schemes that we have undertaken with the objects that I have attempted to describe, I will say nothing here. You know them as well as I do. You are the joint authors of many of them. Time alone will show whether they have been the offspring of a premature and feverish energy, or whether they will have taken root and will endure. My colleagues and I desire no other or fairer test. In some cases it is already in operation, sifting the good from the bad, and giving glimpses of the possible verdict of the future. I will only take one instance, because it is familiar to you all, and because there may be officers here present who were originally doubtful about the wisdom or propriety of the change. I speak of the creation of the North-West Frontier Province, which was carved out of the Punjab more than four years ago. You will all remember the outcries of the prophets of evil. It was going to inflict an irreparable wound upon the prestige of the

Punjab Government. It was to overwhelm the Foreign Department with tiresome work. It was to encourage ambitious officers to gasconade upon the frontier. It was the symbol of a forward and Jingo policy, and would speedily plunge us in another Tirah campaign. We do not hear so much of these prophecies now. I venture to assert that there is not an officer here present, from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab downwards, who would go back upon the decision of 1901. It has given peace and contentment upon the border, and has substituted the prompt despatch of frontier cases for endless perambulations and delays. But the creation of the Frontier Province did not stand by itself. It was merely one symptom of a Frontier policy which we have been pursuing quietly but firmly for seven years. I will utter no prophecy to-night and will indulge in no boast. I am content with the simple facts that for seven years we have not had a single frontier expedition, the only seven years of which this can be said since the frontier passed into British hands; and that, whereas in the five years 1894-1899 the Indian taxpayer had to find 4½ million pounds sterling for frontier warfare, the total cost of military operations on the entire North-West Frontier in the last seven years has only been £248,000, and that was for the semi-pacific operation of the Mahsud blockade.

And now I must not detain you further. This is one of the last speeches that I shall be called upon to make in India, and I have made it through you who are present here to-night to the Services which I have captained and which I have been privileged to lead. We have worked together in good report and in evil report. India is in some respects a hard task-master. She takes her toll of health and spirits and endurance and strength. A man's love for the country is apt sometimes to be soured by calumny, his passion for work to be checked by the many obstacles to be encountered, his conception of duty to be chilled by disappointment or delay. Such have sometimes been my own feelings. Such, I daresay, have often been the feelings of those whom I am addressing. But this is only an ephemeral depression. When it comes upon us let us cast it off, for

it is not the real sentiment of Indian service. As the time comes for us to go, we obtain a clearer perspective. It is like a sunset in the hills after the rains. The valleys are wrapped in sombre shadows, but the hill-tops stand out sharp and clear.

We look back upon our Indian career, be it long, as it has been or will be in the case of many who are here to-night, or relatively short as in mine, and we feel that we can never have such a life again, so crowded with opportunity, so instinct with duty, so touched with romance. We forget the rebuffs and the mortification ; we are indifferent to the slander and the pain. Perhaps if we forget these, others will equally forget our shortcomings and mistakes. We remember only the noble cause for which we have worked together, the principles of truth and justice and righteousness for which we have contended, and the good, be it ever so little, that we have done. India becomes the lodestar of our memories as she has hitherto been of our duty. For us she can never again be the "Land of Regrets."

ADDRESS FROM CLERKS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, SIMLA

On October 13, 1905, the Viceroy received a farewell Address from the ministerial establishments of the Government of India at Simla. Practically the whole body of clerks, several hundreds in number, the majority of them Natives, were present. The Viceroy replied as follows to the Address :—

Among the many hundreds of expressions of compliment and regard that have reached me from all classes of the community during the past few weeks, there is not one to which I attach a higher value than the tribute which is now offered to me by yourselves as the representatives of the ministerial establishments of Government, or what are often generically described as the European and Native clerks. The tribute is the more affecting and valuable in my eyes because, as you tell me in your Address, it is unprecedented in the annals of your service, and because I have the best of reasons for knowing that it springs

spontaneously from the heart of those who tender it. Every man who vacates an office, however great, in which he has been placed above his fellow-creatures, likes to think that if regret is anywhere felt at his departure, it is not confined to those in high place or station only, but is shared by the much larger number to whom fortune has assigned a lowlier, though not necessarily a less responsible, position in his surroundings.

Ever since I came to India my heart has been drawn towards the subordinate officers of our Government. In the first place it seemed to me that they were a most industrious and painstaking body of men, labouring for long hours at a task which, though it tends to become mechanical, is very far from being lifeless, but demands qualities of diligence and accuracy and honesty of no mean order. I have often remarked that the best Indian clerk is, in my opinion, the best clerk in the world, for he is very faithful to detail, and very unsparing of himself. Secondly, I observed that many members of the class to which I am referring are obliged to serve the Government at a distance from their homes, sometimes in places that are uncongenial and expensive, and that their work is apt to be pursued amid rather monotonous and depressing surroundings. And thirdly, I found after a little experience, not merely that these classes were rather forlorn and friendless, but that there was a tendency, when they made mistakes or were guilty of offences, to be somewhat hard upon them, and on occasions to hustle them out of employment or pension upon hasty and inadequate grounds.

I set myself, therefore, to try to understand the position, and, if possible, to alleviate the lot, of the classes of whom I have been speaking; and the new rules which we have passed or systems that we have introduced about the abolition of fining in the departments of Government, the observance of public holidays, the leave rules of the subordinate services, the rank and pay of the higher grades among them, and the allowances and pensionary prospects of all classes—have, I hope, done a good deal to mitigate some of the hardships that have been felt, and to place them in a more assured and comfortable position in the future.

It was on similar grounds that I pressed for the appointment of the committee to deal with Simla allowances ; and although I do not know if it will be possible for me to pass final orders upon the subject before I go, yet the main thing is that the question has been seriously investigated and cannot now be dropped.

Personally, I have taken, if possible, an even warmer interest in the opportunities that have presented themselves to me of investigating memorials and grievances, and now and then of rescuing individuals from excessive punishment or undeserved disgrace. You know, for I have often stated it in public, the feelings that I hold about the standards of British rule in this country. We are here before everything else to give justice : and a single act of injustice is, in my view, a greater stain upon our rule than much larger errors of policy or judgment. I have sometimes thought that in dealing with subordinates, and particularly Native subordinates, there is a tendency to be rather peremptory in our methods and to visit transgression, or suspected transgression, with the maximum of severity. For flagrant misconduct, whether among high or low, European or Native, I have never felt a ray of sympathy. But I have always thought that a small man whose whole fortune and livelihood were at stake deserved just as much consideration for his case, if not more so, than a big man, and that we ought to be very slow to inflict a sentence of ruin unless the proof were very strong. The most striking case in the history of the world of mercy in high places is that of Abraham Lincoln, the President of the United States, who was assassinated. He was sometimes condemned for it at the time, but it is one of his glories in history. A Viceroy of India has no such opportunities as occur to the head of a great Government at a time of civil war. But yet as the final court of appeal on every case, great or small, amid the vast population of India, he has chances that occur to but few. I think that he ought to take them. I have tried to do so. I can recall long night hours spent in the effort to unravel some tangled case of alleged misconduct resulting in the dismissal of a poor unknown Native subordinate. Perhaps those hours have not been the worst

spent of my time in India, and the simple letters of gratitude from the score or more of humble individuals whom I have thus saved from ruin have been equally precious in my eyes with the resolutions of public bodies or the compliments of Princes.

You may be sure that in bidding you farewell I do not forget the faithful though silent services that you have rendered to me. Far down below at the bottom of the pit you have striven and toiled, sending up to the surface the proceeds of your labour, which others then manipulate and convert to the public use.

I hope that Government will always be considerate to you and mindful of your services. For my own part it will remain one of my pleasantest recollections, that I was able during my time in India to show you some practical sympathy, and that you came forward of your own accord at the end to testify your recognition.

DINNER GIVEN BY BYCULLA CLUB, BOMBAY

On November 16, 1905, two days before the Viceroy left India, he was entertained at a farewell banquet by the members of the Byculla Club, Bombay. The dinner was the largest ever given on the Club premises. The Hon. Mr. Leslie Crawford, President of the Club, proposed the toast of the evening, and Lord Curzon replied as follows:—

Three times has the Byculla Club honoured me with an invitation to dinner. The first occasion was when I was leaving India at the end of my first term of office in April 1904. The second was when I returned to India for my second term in December 1904; and this is the third, when I am finally departing. I have esteemed this triple compliment most highly. For ordinarily Bombay does not see or know much of the Viceroy except what it reads in the newspapers—which is not perhaps uniformly favourable; and, with a Governor of your own, you cannot be expected to take as much interest in the head of the Supreme Government as other communities or places with which he is brought into more frequent contact. In respect of Bombay,

however, I have been unusually fortunate in my time; for apart from the four occasions of arrival or departure, I have been here once in Lord Sandhurst's and once in Lord Northcote's time, and again a week ago, so that this is my seventh visit in seven years. Here I made my first speech on Indian shores, and here it is not unfitting that I should make my last. Calcutta did me the honour of inviting me to a parting banquet, and so did the Civil Service of Bengal; and I was greatly touched by those compliments. But I felt that, having accepted your invitation, I owed a duty to you, and that I should only become a nuisance if I allowed myself either the luxury or the regret of too many farewells.

It is no exaggeration to say that my several visits to this city have given me an unusual interest in its fortunes. I have seen it in prosperity and I have seen it in suffering; and I have always been greatly struck by the spirit and patriotism of its citizens. There seems to me to be here an excellent feeling between the very different races and creeds. Bombay possesses an exceptional number of public-spirited citizens, and the sense of civic duty is as highly developed as in any great city that I know. If there is a big movement afoot, you bend yourself to it with a powerful and concentrated will, and a united Bombay is not a force to be gainsaid. Let me give as an illustration the magnificent success of your reception and entertainment of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. Moreover, you have the advantage of one of the best conducted and ablest newspapers in Asia.¹ My recollections of Bombay are also those of uniform kindness towards myself, a kindness which has found active expression on each occasion that I have visited the city, and that has culminated to-night in this splendid entertainment and in the reception that you have just accorded to my health.

As to the speech of the Chairman, to which we listened just now, I hardly feel that I know what I ought to say. He seemed to me to be so familiar with all the details of my administration that I felt that if I ever wanted a biographer it is to Bombay and to the Byculla Club that

¹ *The Times of India.*

I must come to find him. But his account of what I have done—or perhaps I should rather say endeavoured to do—was characterised by so generous an insistence on the best that I almost felt that a rival orator should be engaged to get up and paint the opposite side of the picture. I know of several who would have been prepared without a gratuity to undertake the congenial task—only in that case I should not perhaps have enjoyed the hospitality of this harmonious gathering. I must therefore leave things as they are, and content myself with thanking the Chairman for his great and undeserved leniency in his treatment of the subject of his toast. Gentlemen, I have thus endeavoured to express my acknowledgments of your kindness, and I must include in these acknowledgments those of Lady Curzon. Your gracious reference to her presence greatly touched my heart.

May I also take this opportunity through you of thanking all those communities and persons who, from all parts of India, have, during the past three months, showered upon me expressions of esteem and regret. I think I am justified in assuming, both from the quarters from which they have emanated and also from the language employed, that these have not been merely conventional expressions. From a departing Viceroy no one in India has anything more to ask or to expect; his sun is setting and another orb is rising above the horizon. If in these circumstances he receives, unexpected and unsought, from representative bodies and associations, from the leaders of races and communities, from princes, and from unknown humble men, such messages, couched in such unaffected language, as have crowded in upon me, while he cannot but feel very grateful for all this kindness, there may also steal into his mind the comforting reflection that he has not altogether laboured in vain, but has perhaps left some footprints that will not be washed out by the incoming tide.

It is almost seven years ago that I stood upon the neighbouring quay on the morning that I landed to take up my new office. Well do I remember the occasion and the scene; the Bunder gay with bunting and brilliant with colour; the background of the acclaiming streets with their

tens of thousands, and the setting of the stateliest panorama in Asia. I do not deny that to me it was a very solemn moment. For I was coming here to take up the dream of my life and to translate into fact my highest aspirations. In that spirit I endeavoured to respond to the Address of the Corporation, and were I landing again to-morrow, I would use the same language again. Oceans seem now to roll between that day and this; oceans of incident and experience, of zest and achievement, of anxiety and suffering, of pleasure and pain. But as I stood there that morning and the vista spread out before me, I said that I came to India to hold the scales even:¹ and as I stand here to-night seven years later, I dare to say in all humility that I have done it—have held the scales even between all classes and all creeds—sometimes to my detriment, often at a cost that none but myself can tell, but with such truth and fidelity as in me lay. I further said that the time for judgment was not when a man puts on his armour but when he takes it off. Even now I am fast unbuckling mine, in a few hours the last piece will have been laid aside. But, gentlemen, the test—can I survive my own test? The answer to that I must leave to you among many others, and by your verdict I am willing to abide.

When I came here seven years ago I had some idea, but not perhaps a very complete idea, of what the post of Viceroy of India is. Now that I am in a position to give a more matured opinion on the subject, I may proceed to throw a little light upon it. There are, I believe, many people at home who cherish the idea that the Viceroy in India is the representative of the Sovereign in much the same way as viceroys or governors-general in other parts of the British Empire, except that, India being in the East, it is considered wise to surround him with peculiar state and ceremonial, while in a country which is not a constitutional colony but a dependency, it is of course necessary to invest him with certain administrative powers. No conception of the Viceroy's position and duties could well be wider of the mark. Certainly the proudest and most honourable of his functions is to act as representative of the Sovereign,

¹ *Vide* pp. 15 and 26.

and this act is invested with unusual solemnity and importance in a society organised like that of India upon the aristocratic basis, where the Throne is enveloped in an awe that is the offspring of centuries, and is supported by princely dynasties in many cases as old as itself. The consciousness of this responsibility should, I think, always operate both as a stimulus and as a check to the Viceroy—a stimulus to him to act in a manner worthy of the exalted station in which for a short time he is placed, and a check to keep him from inconsiderate or unworthy deeds. But that is of course only the beginning of the matter. The Viceroy very soon finds out that the purely viceregal aspect of his duties is the very least portion of them, and the court-life, in which he is commonly depicted by ignorant people as revelling, occupies only the place of a compulsory background in his every-day existence. He soon discovers that he is the responsible head of what is by far the most perfected and considerable of highly-organised governments in the world; for the Government of China, which is supposed to rule over a larger number of human beings, can certainly not be accused of a high level of either organisation or perfection. So much is the Viceroy the head of that Government that almost every act of his subordinates is attributed to him by public opinion; and if he is of an active and enterprising nature, a sparrow can scarcely twitter its tail at Peshawar without a response being detected to masterful orders from Simla or Calcutta. This aspect of the Viceroy's position makes him the target of public criticism to a degree in excess, I think, of that known in any foreign country, except perhaps America. I think that in India this is sometimes carried too far. When the Viceroy speaks, he is supposed to remember only that he is the representative of the Sovereign. But when he is spoken or written about, it is commonly only as head of the administration; and then nothing is sometimes too bad for him. I only make these remarks because this seems to me rather a one-sided arrangement, and because I think anything is to be deprecated that might deter your Viceroys from taking the supreme and active part in administration which it seems to me to be their duty to do. You do not

want them to be *fainéants* or figureheads. You want them to pull the stroke oar in the boat. You want English ministries to send you their very best men, and then you want to get out of them, not the correct performance of ceremonial duties, but the very best work of which their energies or experiences or abilities may render them capable. Anything therefore that may deter them from such a conception of their duties or confine them to the sterile pursuit of routine is, in my view, greatly to be deplored.

However, I am only yet at the beginning of my enumeration of the Viceroy's tale of bricks. He is the head, not merely of the whole Government, but also of the most arduous department of Government, viz., the Foreign Office. There he is in the exact position of an ordinary Member of Council, with the difference that the work of the Foreign Department is unusually responsible, and that it embraces three spheres of action so entirely different and requiring such an opposite equipment of principles and knowledge as the conduct of relations with the whole of the Native States of India, the management of the frontier provinces and handling of the frontier tribes, and the offering of advice to His Majesty's Government on practically the entire foreign policy of Asia, which mainly or wholly concerns Great Britain in its relation to India. But the Viceroy, though he is directly responsible for this one department, is scarcely less responsible for the remainder. He exercises over them a control which is, in my judgment, the secret of efficient administration. It is the counterpart of what used to exist in England, but has died out since the days of Sir Robert Peel—with consequences which cannot be too greatly deplored. I earnestly hope that the Viceroy in India may never cease to be head of the Government in the fullest sense of the term. It is not one man rule, which may or may not be a good thing—that depends on the man. But it is one man supervision, which is the very best form of Government, presuming the man to be competent. The alternative in India is a bureaucracy, which is the most mechanical and lifeless of all forms of administration.

To continue, the Viceroy is also the President of the

Legislative Council, where he has to defend the policy of Government in speeches which are apt to be denounced as empty if they indulge in platitudes, and as undignified if they do not. He must have a financial policy, an agricultural policy, a famine policy, a plague policy, a railway policy, an educational policy, an industrial policy, a military policy. Everybody in the country who has a fad or a grievance—and how many are there without either—hunts him out. Every public servant who wants an increase of pay, allowances, or pension—a not inconsiderable band—appeals to him as the eye of justice; every one who thinks he desires recognition, appeals to him as the fountain of honour. When he goes on tour he has to try to know nearly as much about local needs as the people who have lived there all their lives, and he has to refuse vain requests in a manner to make the people who asked them feel happier than they were before. When he meets the merchants he must know all about tea, sugar, indigo, jute, cotton, salt, and oil. He is not thought much of unless he can throw in some knowledge of shipping and customs. In some places electricity, steel and iron, and coal are required. For telegraphs he is supposed to have a special partiality; and he is liable to be attacked about the metric system. He must be equally prepared to discourse about labour in South Africa or labour in Assam. The connecting link between him and Municipalities is supplied by water and drains. He must be prepared to speak about everything and often about nothing. He is expected to preserve temples, to keep the currency steady, to satisfy third-class passengers, to patronise race meetings, to make Bombay and Calcutta each think that it is the capital city of India, and to purify the police. He corresponds with all his lieutenants in every province, and it is his duty to keep in touch with every local Administration. If he does not reform everything that is wrong, he is told that he is doing too little, if he reforms anything at all, that he is doing too much.

I am sure that I could occupy quite another five minutes of your time in depicting the duties which you require of the Viceroy in India, and to which I might have added the agreeable *finale* of being entertained at complimentary

banquets. But I have said enough perhaps to show that it is no light burden that I am now laying down, and that it is not perhaps surprising if seven years of it should prove enough for any average constitution. And yet I desire to say on this parting occasion that I regard the office of Viceroy of India, inconceivably laborious as it is, as the noblest office in the gift of the British Crown. I think the man who does not thrill upon receiving it with a sense not of foolish pride, but of grave responsibility, is not fit to be an Englishman. I believe that the man who holds it with devotion, and knows how to wield the power wisely and well, as so many great men in India have done, can for a few years exercise a greater influence upon the destinies of a larger number of his fellow-creatures than any head of an administration in the universe. I hold that England ought to send out to India to fill this great post the pick of her statesmen, and that it should be regarded as one of the supreme prizes of an Englishman's career. I deprecate any attempt, should it ever be made, to attenuate its influence, to diminish its privileges, or to lower its prestige. Should the day ever come when the Viceroy of India is treated as the mere puppet or mouthpiece of the Home Government, who is required only to carry out whatever orders it may be thought desirable to transmit, I think that the justification for the post would have ceased to exist. But I cannot believe that the administrative wisdom of my countrymen, which is very great, would ever tolerate so great a blunder.

And now after this little sketch of the duties of a Viceroy, you may expect to hear something of the manner of fulfilling them. I have been told that on the present occasion I am expected to give a sort of synopsis of the last seven years of administration. I am sure you will be intensely relieved to learn that I intend to disappoint those expectations. Lists of laws, or administrative acts, or executive policies, may properly figure in a budget speech ; they may be recorded in an official minute ; they may be grouped and weighed by the historian. But they are hardly the material for an after-dinner oration. Besides which I have been spared the necessity of any such review by the generous ability with which it has already been performed for me by the press.

Inasmuch, however, as all policy that is deserving of the name must rest upon certain principles, perhaps you will permit me to point out what are the main principles that have underlain everything to which I have set my hand in India. They are four in number. The first may sound very elementary, but it is in reality cardinal. It is the recognition that for every department of the State, and for every branch of the administration, there must be *a* policy instead of *no* policy, *i.e.* a method of treating the subject in question which is based upon accepted premises, either of reasoning or experience, and is laid down in clear language, understood by the officers who have to apply it, and intelligible to the people to whom it is to be applied. It is, in fact, the negation of a policy of drift.

Years ago I remember coming to India and commencing my studies of the Frontier question. I inquired of every one I met what was the frontier policy of the Government of India. I even mounted as high as members of Council. No one could tell me. I found one view at Calcutta, another at Lahore, another at Peshawar, and another at Quetta, and scores of intervening shades between. That is only an illustration; but that absence of a policy cost India thousands of lives and crores of rupees. Of course in our attempt to fashion or to formulate policies my colleagues and I may not always have been successful—our policy need not have been uniformly right. We make no such claim. All that we say is that the policy is now there, not hidden away or enshrouded in hieroglyphics, but emphatically laid down, in most cases already given to the world, and in every case available for immediate use. There is not a single branch of the administration, internal or external, of which I believe that this cannot truthfully be said. I will give you a few illustrations drawn from spheres as widely separated as possible.

Take Foreign Affairs. The Government of India can hardly be described as having a foreign policy of their own, because our foreign relations must necessarily be co-ordinated with those of the Empire. But we can have our views and can state them for what they are worth; and there are certain countries in the close neighbourhood of our frontiers

where the conduct of affairs is necessarily in our hands. Thus, in respect of Tibet, the Government of India have throughout had a most definite policy which has not perhaps been fully understood, because it has never been fully stated in published correspondence, but which I have not the slightest doubt will vindicate itself, and that before long. Similarly, with regard to Afghanistan, our policy throughout my term of office has been directed to clearing up all the doubts or misunderstandings that had arisen out of our different agreements with the late Amir, and to a renewal of those agreements, freed from such ambiguity, with his successor. It was to clear up these doubts that the Mission was sent to Kabul, as the Amir found himself unable to carry out his first intention to come down to India; and for all the widespread tales that the Mission had been sent to press roads or railroads or telegraphs and all sorts of unacceptable conditions upon the Amir, from which the Government of India or myself was alleged to have been only with difficulty restrained by a cautious Home Government, there was never one shred of foundation.

Perhaps in Persia, a subject which is perhaps better appreciated, and is certainly better written about, in Bombay than in any other city of the Empire, we have been able to do most in respect of a positive and intelligible policy. Resting upon Lord Lansdowne's statesmanlike and invaluable dictum as to the Persian Gulf, from which I trust that no British Government will ever be so foolish as to recede, we have been able to pursue a definite course of action in defence of British interests at Muscat, Bahrein, Koweit, and throughout the Persian Gulf. The same applies to Mekran and Seistan, and I believe that I leave British interests in those quarters better safeguarded than they have ever before been. I will not trouble you further about foreign affairs to-night, though I might take you round the confines of the Indian Empire and show you an Aden boundary determined, largely owing to the ability of the officers serving under my noble friend, our relations with Sikkim and Bhutan greatly strengthened, and the final settlement of the Chino-Burmese boundary practically achieved.

Neither will I detain you about the tribal frontier of India, although the fact that I can dismiss this almost in a sentence is perhaps more eloquent than any speech could be. The point is that the Government of India, the local officers, and the tribesmen now know exactly what we are aiming at, namely, in so far as we are obliged to maintain order, to keep up communications, or to exert influence in the tribal area, to do it, not with British troops, but through the tribes themselves. The other day I saw the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, and asked him if he could sum up the position of the frontier. "Yes," he replied, "I can, in a single word, and that is 'Confidence.'" Confidence at Hunza, confidence at Chitral, which when I came out to India I was told by the pundits at home that I should have to evacuate in a year, but which is now as tranquil as the compound of the Byculla Club; confidence in the Khyber and the Kurram, confidence all down the frontier of Baluchistan. That is no mean boast. I observe that all the people who have for years depicted me as a somewhat dangerous person, and who were kind enough to warn India seven years ago of the terrible frontier convulsions that she was in for under my rule, have found it a little difficult to account for the seven years' peace that has settled down on the land. Two explanations have, however, lately been forthcoming. The first is that the tribes were so severely handled by my predecessor that they have not had a kick in them left for me. The second is that having concentrated all my unholy propensities in the direction of Tibet, where, however, for some unexplained reason I did not begin until I had been in India for four years, I had nothing left for the tribes. I do not think that I need be disturbed by either of these criticisms. I can hand over the frontier to my successor, with the happy assurance not only that matters are quiet, but that the principles determining our action, whether as regards tribal militia, or border military police, or frontier roads and railways, or tribal control, are all clearly laid down, and are understood. If these principles are departed from, if the Government of India were to go in for a policy of cupidity or adventure, then the confidence of which I have spoken would not last

a month. Otherwise I do not see why it should not be enduring.

We have also for seven years pursued a very consistent military policy, not differing therein in the least from the distinguished men who preceded us, but using the much larger opportunities that have been presented to us by recurring surpluses to carry out measures of which they often dreamed, but which they had not the funds to realise. I am not one of those who think that the Indian Army is a bad one. I believe it to be by far the best portion of the forces of the British Crown ; and certainly such work as it has been my duty to ask it to undertake, whether in South Africa or China or Somaliland or Tibet, has been as good as any in the history of the Empire. We have done a good deal to render the Indian Army, I will not say more efficient, but more effective. We have entirely re-armed every section of it. We have reorganised the horse and field artillery from top to bottom. We have created a new transport organisation, we are now making our own gunpowder, rifles, gun-carriages, and guns ; we have added 500 British officers, and are proposing to add 350 more ; we are doubling the Native Army reserves ; and all these measures are independent of the schemes of reorganisation and redistribution of which you have heard so much. If due attention continues to be paid to the idiosyncrasies of the Native Army, and if it is treated sympathetically, I believe that we shall continue to receive from it the splendid level of service which is its tradition and its glory.

In the sphere of internal politics we have adopted a slightly different method, though with the same end, for there we have, as a rule, not framed our policy without a most exhaustive preliminary examination of the data upon which it ought to rest, conducted by the most expert authorities whose services we could command. Thus we did not proceed to draw up a plague policy until the Plague Commission had reported. Our new famine codes and manuals, the methods by which the Government of India will grapple with the next famine when it comes, and the preventive methods which we have been bringing into operation one by one, are the result of the Commission over which

Sir Antony MacDonnell presided. The great programme of irrigation schemes for the whole of India to which we have committed ourselves, at a cost of 30 millions sterling in twenty years, was similarly not arrived at until Sir Colin Moncrieff's Commission had spent two winters in India. I did not undertake University reform until I had carefully sifted the facts of the case by a Commission upon which the highest authorities had seats. Nor did we charge ourselves with the reform of the police until we had conducted a most searching inquiry into the facts of existing administration in every province by Sir A. Fraser's Commission. Finally, we did not propose to create a Railway Board or to revolutionise our railway management until we had obtained the advice of an expert from home. Thus, wherever possible, we have proceeded upon the same plan ; firstly, the ascertainment from the information at our disposal, from the representations of the public, and from the known facts, that there was a case for reform ; secondly, the appointment of an influential and representative body to go round the country and take evidence ; thirdly, the critical examination of their report, accompanied by consultation of local Governments and of public opinion ; fourthly, the accomplished reform. I remember very well—I daresay you do also, gentlemen—when the present administration was ridiculed as one of Commissions that were always sitting, but whose eggs never hatched out. I held my peace, but I sat all the harder. Time was all I wanted ; and now I can say that not a single Commission has sat and reported in my time without its results having been embodied with the least possible delay in administrative measures or in legislative acts. If you want to know the educational policy of Government, you can find it in the published Resolution of March 1904 ; I recapitulated it in a recent farewell speech at Simla. If you want to know our land revenue policy, it is similarly enunciated in two published Resolutions dealing with the principles of assessment and collection, which will presently be followed by two others dealing with subsidiary branches of the question. These will then be a *corpus* or code of land revenue law and policy, such as has never previously existed in India, and which will constitute a charter for

the cultivating classes. If you want to know our fiscal policy, it is contained in the published despatch of October 1903. Thus, wherever you turn, I think you will find my claim justified—the case examined, the principles elucidated, the policy laid down, action taken, and already bearing fruit.

The second principle that I have held in view has been this. Amid the numerous races and creeds of whom India is composed, while I have sought to understand the needs and to espouse the interests of each, to win the confidence of the Princes, to encourage and strengthen the territorial aristocracy, to provide for the better education, and thus to increase the opportunities, of the educated classes, to stimulate the energies of Hindu, Mohammedan, Buddhist, and Sikh, and to befriend those classes like the Eurasians who are not so powerful as to have many friends of their own—my eye has always rested upon a larger canvas, crowded with untold numbers, the real people of India, as distinct from any class or section of the people.

But thy poor endure
And are with us yet ;
Be thy name a sure
Refuge for thy poor,
Whom men's eyes forget.

It is the Indian poor, the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions, the 80 per cent who subsist by agriculture, who know very little of policies, but who profit or suffer by their results, and whom men's eyes, even the eyes of their own countrymen, too often forget—to whom I refer. He has been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible, of every surplus of which I have assisted in the disposition. We see him not in the splendour and opulence, nor even in the squalor, of great cities ; he reads no newspapers, for, as a rule, he cannot read at all ; he has no politics. But he is the bone and sinew of the country, by the sweat of his brow the soil is tilled, from his labour comes one-fourth of the national income, he should be the first and the final object of every Viceroy's regard.

It is for him in the main that we have twice reduced

the salt-tax, that we remitted land revenue in two years amounting to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling; for him that we are assessing the land revenue at a progressively lower pitch and making its collection elastic. It is to improve his credit that we have created co-operative credit societies, so that he may acquire capital at easy rates, and be saved from the usury of the money-lender. He is the man whom we desire to lift in the world, to whose children we want to give education, to rescue whom from tyranny and oppression we have reformed the Indian police, and from whose cabin we want to ward off penury and famine. Above all let us keep him on the soil and rescue him from bondage or expropriation. When I am vituperated by those who claim to speak for the Indian people, I feel no resentment and no pain. For I search my conscience, and I ask myself who and what are the real Indian people; and I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to do something to alleviate theirs, and that I leave them better than I found them. As for the educated classes, I regret if, because I have not extended to them political concessions—more places on councils, and so on—I have in any way incurred their hostility. For I certainly in no wise return it, and when I remember how impartially it is bestowed on every Viceroy in the latter part of his term of office, I conclude that there must be something wrong about all of us which brings us under a common ban. I also remember that in a multitude of ways even as regards places and appointments I have consistently befriended and championed their cause. That I have not offered political concessions is because I did not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India itself to do so; and if I have incurred odium for thus doing my duty, I have no apology to advance.

And yet in one respect I venture to think that the classes of whom I am speaking have found in me their best friend. For I have endeavoured to pursue with them the third principle of action to which I before alluded, viz. to be frank and outspoken, to take them into open confidence as to the views and intentions of the Government, to profit by public opinion, instead of ignoring it, not to flatter or cozen, but never to mystify or deceive. I have

always held that Governors are servants of the public, and that policies are not such high and holy things as not to admit of clear exposition and candid argument for all who care to hear. I cannot say that I have everywhere been rewarded for this confidence. But I have pursued it as part of a definite policy, for there has not been an act or an aim of Government whose sincerity I have not been prepared to vindicate ; and to me there is something manlier in treating your critics with respect than in pretending that you are unaware even of their existence. And my last principle, has been everywhere to look ahead ; to scrutinise not merely the passing requirements of the hour, but the abiding needs of the country ; and to build not for the present but for the future. I should say that the one great fault of Englishmen in India is that we do not sufficiently look ahead. We are so much absorbed in the toil of the day that we leave the morrow to take care of itself. But it is not to-morrow only, but twenty years hence, fifty years hence, and one hundred years hence. That is the thought that has never left my mind. I have had no ambition to cut Gordian knots or to win ephemeral triumphs. I am content that all my work should go that is not fitted to last. Some of it will go of course. But I hope that a solid residuum may remain and take its place as a part of the organic growth of Indian politics and Indian society. To leave India permanently stronger and more prosperous, to have added to the elements of stability in the national existence, to have cut out some sources of impurity or corruption, to have made dispositions that will raise the level of administration not for a year or two but continuously, to have lifted the people a few grades in the scale of well-being, to have enabled the country or the Government better to confront the dangers or the vicissitudes of the future, that is the statesman's ambition. Whether he has attained it or not will perhaps not be known until long after he has disappeared.

I need say but few words about my resignation or the causes that led to it. I desire only to mention one cause that did not. It seems to have been thought in some quarters at home that this was a personal quarrel, and that

I resigned on personal grounds. No one who has the least acquaintance with the facts of the case, and I would fain hope no one who has any acquaintance with myself, could commit this error. The post of Viceroy of India is not one which any man fit to hold it would resign for any but the strongest reasons. When you remember that to me it was the dream of my childhood, the fulfilled ambition of my manhood, and my highest conception of duty to the State, when further you remember that I was filling it for the second time, a distinction which I valued much less for the compliment than for the opportunity afforded to me of completing the work to which I had given all the best of my life, you may judge whether I should be likely heedlessly or impulsively to lay it down. No, sir, there is not a man in this room who does not know that I resigned for a great principle, or rather for two great principles, firstly, the hitherto uncontested, the essential, and in the long run the indestructible subordination of military to civil authority in the administration of all well-conducted states, and, secondly, the payment of due and becoming regard to Indian authority in determining India's needs. I am making no vain boast when I say that in defending these principles as I have sought to do, and in sacrificing my position sooner than sacrifice them, I have behind me the whole of the Civil Services in India, the unanimous weight of non-official English opinion in this country, an overpowering preponderance of Indian opinion, and I will add, which is more significant still, the support of the greater part of the Indian Army. I have not one word to say in derogation of those who may hold opposite views ; but, speaking for the last time as Viceroy of India, I am entitled to say why in a few hours I shall cease to be Viceroy of India ; and I am also entitled to point out that in speaking for the last time as Viceroy of the country which I have administered for nearly seven years, I am speaking, as I believe that no single one of my predecessors has ever been able to do to a similar extent, with the whole of that country behind me. And, Gentlemen, you may depend upon it, the principles have not vanished though they have momentarily disappeared. They will reappear, and that before very long.

It is a much pleasanter subject to turn from myself to the nobleman whose ship is hourly drawing nearer to these shores, and who the day after to-morrow will take over the task that I lay down.¹ It is a pleasure to me to be succeeded by a lifelong friend. But it is a much greater pleasure to know that India will gain a Viceroy of ripe experience, of a strong sense of duty, of sound judgment, and of great personal charm. I hope that the rough seas through which I have sometimes ridden may leave smooth waters in which his keel may glide, and from the depth of my heart I wish him a tranquil and triumphant Viceroyalty.

And now, as the moment comes for me to utter the parting words, I am a little at loss to know what they should be. A week ago a man said to me, "Do you really love India?" I could not imagine if he was jesting. "Love India," I replied; "why otherwise should I have cut myself adrift from my own country for the best seven years of my life, why should I have given to this country the best of my poor health and strength, why should I have come back in the awful circumstances of a year ago, why should I have resigned my office sooner than see injury done to her now?" "Good," he said, "I was merely trying you—I knew it as well as every one else."

Gentlemen, you all know it. There is not a man in this room, there is not an impartial man in India, there is not a Bengali patriot who now denounces me for giving him the boon for which he will one day bless my name, who does not know that no Englishman ever stepped on to the shores of India who had a more passionate devotion to the country than he who is now bidding it farewell. Nor will any Englishman ever have left it more resolved, to the best of his humble abilities and strength, to continue to do justice in England to India—India who after 200 years still stands like some beautiful stranger before her captors, so defenceless, so forlorn, so little understood, so little known. She stands in need as much as ever—perhaps more than ever, when such strange experiments are made by many whose

knowledge of her does not extend beyond the fringe of her garment—of being championed and spoken for and saved from insult or defamation. Perhaps my voice for India may not always be identical with that of all her sons, for some of them, as I have said, see or speak very differently from me. But it will be a voice raised on behalf not of a section or a faction, but, so far as the claim may be made, of all India. And in any case, it will be of an India whose development must continue to be a British duty, whose fair treatment is a test of British character, and whose destinies are bound up with those of the British race. So far as in me lies, it will be a voice raised in the cause of imperial justice and fair dealing; and most of all of seeing that Indian interests are not bartered away or sacrificed or selfishly pawned in the financial or economic adjustments of Empire.

A hundred times in India have I said to myself, Oh that to every Englishman in this country, as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase, "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity." No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same. To fight for the right, to abhor the imperfect, the unjust, or the mean, to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left, to care nothing for flattery or applause or odium or abuse—it is so easy to have any of them in India—never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim, but to remember that the Almighty has placed your hand on the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape, to drive the blade a little forward in your time, and to feel that somewhere among these millions you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist—that is enough, that is the Englishman's justification in India. It is good enough for his watchword while he is here, for his

epitaph when he is gone. I have worked for no other aim.
Let India be my judge.¹

¹ This is the passage that elicited from the venerable Primate of Ireland (Archbishop Alexander) the remarkable Ode of Welcome that appeared in the *Times* on the day of Lord Curzon's return to England, December 4, 1905, and from which the following is an extract :—

So to our race in India full and strong
Fell from thy lips that phrase no time outwears,
"Thou hast loved righteousness and hated wrong"—

Thus spake our great men of the olden time,
Who grandly spoke, because they grandly thought—
Whose spirit first, then speech, became sublime !

Colossal brevity as by magic wrought,
Catching the difficult ear of after time ;
Restraint—and not effusion—dearly bought.

Now, when our politic armies in their place
Stand clamouring by the fires along their line,
Each battle sees the other's angry face.

Come now with utterance of the men of old,
Come thou, be judged of all this land of thine—
Not with a pomp of colour and of gold ;

Thou who has instinct of a mighty work,
Of the great utterance of the days gone by,
Superb as Chatham, steadfast-souled as Burke.

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